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EDUCATION OF THE PUEBLO CHILD

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A STUDY OF ARRESTED DEVELOPMENT

BY

FRANK CLARENCE SPENCER, B. Sc.

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INTRODUCTION

A RETROSPECTIVE view of the evolution of culture as revealed in the history of ancient nations which have left written records, and the ethnical remains of others which have disappeared, show a constantly recurring struggle in the progress of the adjustment of the individual to a group or social unit. The tragedy of nations has been involved in this adjustment. States have flourished, decayed or disintegrated in accordance with their success in meeting and solving this problem of individual freedom and social welfare. Extreme emphasis either on one or the other of these factors has proved disastrous to progress. On the one hand, it has led to national disintegration, and on the other, to intellectual stagnation. The problem is not yet solved by the most enlightened nations, but it is in the lower stages of civilization that the crises are most marked. It appears that in the development of every people or nation emerging from barbarism there has been a time when these factors have been weighed in the balance, and the direction in which the beam has tipped has largely determined the destiny of that nation or people. In Greece it went in one direction, and in India, China and ancient Egypt in the other; and history has recorded the results. In the former is seen a comparatively short-lived but brilliant nation; in the latter, a stable, long-existing state, but at the expense of intellectual progress.

It is with the latter of these conditions that this study is chiefly concerned; for the forces which bring about this condition as elements in the history of culture must ever be

of vital interest to the educator who looks upon his field in its broader aspects.

Other sciences have sought the elements of their respective subjects in their simplest beginnings, in their earliest and elementary forms; because an organization can best be studied when reduced to its simplest elements. The essential elements in political and social institutions become much clearer when studied in their primitive beginnings and traced to their emergence in more complex forms. In the same way it would seem that valuble results may arise from a careful study of the primitive ideals of humanity and the means they consciously or unconsciously adopted to realize these ideals.

The Pueblo Indians of the south-west offer an interesting field from this point of view; as they exemplify a people which attained a civilization in advance of all the Indians surrounding them. Then, by conditions which it is the purpose of this dissertation to discuss, their development was arrested, and their civilization has since stood practically still. For three hundred and fifty years their history is known, and the record of their ruins carries us back much further. A careful study of their condition, their ideals and means of attaining them, may reasonably be expected to throw some light, not alone upon primitive aims and methods, but upon the question of the adjustment of the individual to the social whole and its relation to the larger problem of national progress.

The advantage of studying a type such as the Pueblos is that the forces and methods which tend to arrest progress may be studied in operation. They are living the conditions, so to speak, which are the object of our research.

It was with this point of view that the writer entered upon the investigation. A somewhat extended personal contact with these Indians, in which their customs—social, industrial

and religious—and their method of education were studied, forms the basis for this essay. The description of their mode of life is not intended to be complete, and only so much of their history, physical and social environment and customs, is given as is directly related to the subject in hand, and serves to illustrate the prevailing tendencies of their civilization.

The writer desires especially to acknowledge his indebtedness to Professor James E. Russell for many kindly suggestions and other assistance, and to Dr. Livingston Farrand for his helpful interest; but he holds himself entirely responsible for the subject matter of the dissertation.

CHAPTER I

GEOGRAPHY AND HISTORY OF THE LAND OF THE PUEBLOS

THE region included in the following study comprises the territories of New Mexico and Arizona in the United States and the States of Sonora and Chihuahua pertaining to the Republic of Mexico. These four regions are connected very closely geographically and historically, although the living Pueblos are confined for the most part to the territories of the United States and may be grouped in three regions: Those residing along the Rio Grande River and its tributaries, the Zuñi on the Colorado Chiquito in western New Mexico and the Tusayan or Hopi on the mesas of north-eastern Arizona. To these are sometimes added the Havasupai, dwelling in the bottom of Cataract Canon near its junction with the Grand Canon of the Colorado. The Navajos, also, have many of the traits of the Pueblos; but they have not yet adopted fixed habitations, although they are farmers and herders.

The country is a part of the Rocky Mountain region and has an average elevation of about 7,000 feet. Several ranges traverse it, while between them are deep valleys and elevated plateaus. There are numerous gorges, canons, mesas and high peaks, which in the clear dry air of this land stand out in wonderful relief, while the dazzling sunshine gives this rugged, picturesque land a weird effect not found in other parts of our country. The region is an arid, but not a barren one. The soil is fertile, and when supplied with water, produces abundantly; but water must be sup-

plied artifically, as the rain-fall is not sufficient to grow crops successfully. The climate is healthful and invigorating, the air dry and bracing, and where a proper food supply is assured the country is so attractive that after a short residence one is loath to leave it, even for the greater material advantages of other lands. This, in part, explains why the Indians, and after them the Spanish, have clung to it so tenaciously after once gaining a foothold. Even the disappointed Spanish gold-hunters longed to return to the country.[1]

Game animals are not found in sufficient abundance to sustain more than a meager population. He who would live in this land must perforce turn to the soil for means of subsistence. Nature herself, indicates the method of procedure; along each stream, about each spring, or wherever sufficient moisture is found, vegetation springs up in luxurious abundance, where before was only barrenness and apparent sterility. Even the weakest intellect would be led to see that it was only necessary to find some means of conducting the water from the streams and springs over wider areas in order to increase its usefulness.

In the above conditions is found a partial explanation for the seemingly wide difference between the civilization of the aboriginal inhabitants of this region and that of other parts of North America. It is only within recent years that the relations between the Pueblos and other less civilized Indians have been understood. The ruins of their ancient communal dwellings, canals and reservoirs were of such great size and displayed such a considerable degree of architectural and engineering skill, that among early investigators the theory arose that these structures must have been built by a race much superior to the Indians, and that this race, in some mysterious way, had disappeared from the land. Some held

[1] See *Castañeda Relacions de Cibola*, Preface.

the opinion that they had been exterminated, others that they had probably been driven to the southward and there established the comparatively highly developed civilization of Mexico and Yucatan.[1] But recent investigators have found that these imposing structures were the products of the ancestors of the Pueblos now occupying the country—that they were a necessary result of conditions imposed upon the inhabitants by their physical and human enviroment.[2]

The physical conditions noted above made necessary the adoption of an agricultural life, which in time placed them at a disadvantage in warfare with their more nomadic neighbors. In order to protect themselves from the perilous forages of their wilder neighbors, communal fortress dwellings were erected, and so it may be said, a close community life was forced upon them. This in turn brought about many changes in their social, institutional and religious life. The cultivation of compact bodies of land, which could be protected, necessitated the securing of a large quantity of water for irrigating purposes, and this could only be done by co-operation. The introduction of co-operation into their industrial life, together with other changes brought about by their communal life, gives us the key to their civilization. There is no necessity for believing the Pueblo is not in ethnical unity with the rest of the American race.

Dr. Brinton says regarding this unity:[3] "The Pueblo Indians are members of wholly different disconnected stems. This proves that the Pueblo civilization is not due to any one gifted lineage, but was a local product developed in independent tribes by the natural facilities offered by the local-

[1] *Century*, Vol. LXV, pp. 344, ff. T. W. Higginson.

[2] Peabody, *Museum Rep'ts*, Vol. XII, pp. 550, ff. *Rept. Bureau of Ethnology*, Vol. XIII, pp. 185–251.

[3] Brinton's *American Race*, p. 54.

ity. It is a spontaneous production of the soil, climate and conditions, which were unusually favorable to agriculture and sedentary occupations, and prompted various tribes to adopt them. The Moquis belong to the Shoshone branch of the Azteckan stock. The natives of the remaining Pueblos belong to three independent stocks, known as the Queres, the Tehua and Zuñi families. No relationship has been discovered between these and any tribe outside the territory I have referred to. The culture of the Pueblos, both ancient and modern, bears every mark of local and independent growth. A knowledge of metals, other than to a limited extent for ornamental purposes, is nowhere evident. Tillage of the fields was the main source of food supply. Pottery of a fine temper and in symmetrical forms was manufactured by the women. That they had any other domestic animals than the fowl and sometimes a dog, has not been shown.[1] Mats and clothing were woven of fibers of bark and grass, and the culture of cotton was at one time common, especially among the Moquis and Pimas.[2] The art of weaving feathers and working shells into decorative objects is not yet lost, Apart from the development of the art of agriculture there was little in the culture of the Pueblos to lift them above the level of the Algonquins. The acequias, or irrigating ditches, were a necessity of the climate and were in use among their southern neighbors."

Dr. Brinton probably underestimates the industrial achievements of the Pueblos, which are really remarkable, when considered in relation to other aspects of their civilization; but he is undoubtedly correct upon the point of chief importance, that their peculiar civilization is largely due to to their environment. On the other hand, the close com-

[1] See Cushing's report, *Congress Int. des Americanists*, Vol. VII, pp. 550, ff.

[2] *Castañeda's Relacions, Cap.* LV.

munity life proved advantageous for the rise of other forces which were destined to overshadow, and finally hold in check, the higher civilization which the principle of co-operation and other favorable social conditions had brought them.

With this brief general survey a more detailed description of the location, discovery, and later history of these Indians will now be given, in order that their organization—political, social and religious—may be seen in the light of their geographical and historical setting.

The prevailing form of Pueblo village consists of one or more large communal dwellings, together with a number of smaller structures built about a rectangular court, called by the Spanish a "plaza." Formerly a wall was built to make the enclosure complete when the buildings did not extend entirely around the court. They thus resembled somewhat the old feudal castles, but lacked all elements of adornment; the outside of the Pueblo presenting simply plain unadorned walls. Of late years the walls have been allowed to fall and decay, as the need for them is no longer present.

The names, location and population of the various villages are briefly as follows:[1] Beginning with the most northernly of the Rio Grande Pueblos, Taos, (Te-uat-ha)[2] is situated in Taos County, New Mexico, on the Rio de Taos, an eastern branch of the Rio Grande River. It is perhaps the best preserved type of the ancient architecture. It consists, in the main, of two large terraced communal dwellings, each rising to the height of five stories. The present population is about three hundred and fifty.

About twenty-five miles to the south-west, on the Rito

[1] *Investigations among the Indians of the S. W.*, Vol. I, pp. 260–261. Bandelier. *American Anthropologist*, Vol. II, pp. 345–347. F. W. Hodge.

[2] The Indian name is given in brackets.

Penasco, are the Picuries (Na-lana), northern relations of the Taos, both belonging to the Tiguex branch of the Pueblos. This village contains about one hundred and twenty-five Indians. To the south and west, along the Rio Grande river, are the Tehua Pueblos of San Juan (Jyuo-tyn-te), Santa Clara (Kāp-po), San Yldefonso (P'-ho-jua-ge), Pojuaque (P'-ho-zuan-ge), Tezuque (Ti-zo-ge) and Nambe (Na-im-be), numbering in all about twenty-two hundred persons.

The villages of the eastern branch of the Queres are located along the Rio Grande and Jemez Rivers, below the Tehuas. They comprise the villages of Cochiti (Ko-ji-ti), San Domingo (Ki-ua), San Felippe (Kas-isht-ya), Santa Ana (Ta-ma-ya), Cia (Tzia), and Jemez (Meta-to-hua). The western branch of the Queres is about seventy-five miles south-west of their brothers of the Rio Grande, and occupies the villages of Acoma (A'ko), and Laguna (Ka-may-ko), the former situated on an almost inaccessible rock, which has been continuously occupied since its discovery in 1540. The combined population of these villages is about four thousand five hundred.

The southern branch of the Tiguex is now located in the villages of Sandia (Na-fu-ap), and Isleta (Tsha-ni-pa), a few miles south of the town of Albuquerque. Together they contain a population of about twelve hundred.

The Zuñi stock occupies a solitary pueblo, Zuñi (Hal-on-ana), situated in western New Mexico on the Colorado Chiquito. It is in some respects the most interesting; as, until within the last few years, it had felt the influence of the Americans very slightly, and had preserved almost uncontaminated all the ancient customs. It has a population of about fifteen hundred.

The Hopi, or Tusayan stock, comprises the pueblos of Sitcumovi, Walpi, Mashongnavi, Shipaulovi, Shumovi, Oraibia and Tehua, the latter being a Tehua colony from the

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Rio Grande. Their numbers are given as one thousand eight hundred and fifty. The numbers of the Pueblos have not been accurately obtained, on account of their superstitious fear of allowing strangers to take their names. The Pueblos are a composite people comprising four or five distinct stocks. Migrations of clans or individuals from one village to another have occurred from time to time, and some cases are known of the migration of an entire village from one stock to another.[1] There have been many cases of intermarriage with members of surrounding tribes, such as the Comanches, Utahs, Navajos, and Apaches, and there are also some quarter and half-blood Spanish among them;[2] but this has not prevented them from maintaining their integrity as Pueblos.

If their traditions are to be relied upon, there has been a general trend of migration from north to south, although there have been migrations transverse to this general movement. From all the data which has been gathered it seems probable the original home of most of these Indians was somewhere in the north, but the evidence is not sufficient to justify any firm convictions.

But from whatever direction they came, once settled in this region, the change from roaming Indians to settled agriculturalists became necessary in order to maintain existence; and as an agricultural life would unfit them to successfully combat with the more savage surrounding tribes,—because of the necessity of defending their lands and crops, and the less habituation to the use of arms,—segregation and fortress building would naturally be resorted to, to prevent annihilation. Of course, such a change in mode of life and customs could only be brought about

[1] A Tehua Colony at Tusyuan. *Am. Anthropologist.* J. W. Fewkes.

[2] *Investigations among Indians of S. W.*, Vol. I, p. 260. Bandelier.

gradually through a long period of years, but the traditions, language, customs and long series of ruined structures of the Pueblos, all show that such a transition did take place; and that the transition was complete long before their discovery by the Spanish.

Discovery and later history of the Pueblos.

There were many stories of Seven Cities in the north, afloat in Mexico, which had found their way to Spain long before anything was actually known of the Pueblos.[1] The first knowledge of them was brought to Mexico by Alvar Nunez Cabeza de Vaca, a survivor of the unfortunate Narvaez expedition to Florida. After the wreck of this expedition, he, with four companions, had wandered from ocean to ocean, finally reaching their countrymen in Mexico after many hardships, April, 1536. He reported that they had visited settlements, in the north, of Indians who had attained a high degree of civilization. This story being brought to the notice of the Viceroy, Mendoza, he sent a Franciscan Monk, Fray Marcos de Nizza, who was well versed in Indian lore and had long experience among the Incas of Peru, to learn the truth of these reports.[2] Fray Marcos set out March 7th, 1539, accompanied by a lay brother, Friar Ornorato, and a negro named Estevan, who had been with Cabeza de Vaca in his wanderings, and who was to act as guide. He early received reports from the negro, who had gone ahead, of large settlements in the north. When he reached the wilderness, word was brought to him that the negro had been killed. This made it impossible for him to carry out his original plan of entering the Cibola cities, as the Indians who were with him became much frightened and

[1] *Relacions de Cibola*, Cap. II. *Pacheco y cardenas colleccion*, Vol. III, pp. 325–351.

[2] *Report, Bureau of Ethnology*, Vol. XIV, pp. 353–370. Hist. Investigations among Indians of S. W., p. 109. Bandelier.

threatened him, as the cause of the disaster; but he persuaded two of them to accompany him to a high point where he could obtain a view of the city.[1] He writes, "It has a very fine appearance for a village, the best I have seen in these parts. The houses, as the Indians have told me, are of stone built in stories and with flat roofs. Judging from what I could see from the heights, where I placed myself to observe, the settlement is larger than the City of Mexico. It appears to me that this land is the best and largest of all those that have been discovered."

"With more fright than food," the Friar says, he hastened back to New Spain, there to report the news of his great discovery.

While we know the picture was overdrawn, allowance must be made for the natural or usual exaggeration of the time.

The effect of his report was to arouse great interest in the country. The next year an expedition was fitted out by the Viceroy and commanded by Francisco Velasquez Coronado, a dashing young nobleman, who was captain general of the whole force.[2] The force consisted of about three hundred Spanish and eight hundred natives. Castañeda, the historian of the expedition, says: "There were so many men of such high quality among the Spaniards that such a noble body was never before collected in the Indies, nor so many men of quality in such a small body." It was a brilliant assembly, the flower of Spain's nobility in her palmiest days. Friar Marcos accompanied them and encouraged their hopes by his description of the country they were to conquer. The army left Compostella February 23rd, 1540, and after much suffering reached the province of Cibola on July 7th, capturing the pueblo of Hawikuh, which Coronado named Grenada.

[1] First Discovered City of Cibola, *American Anthrop.*, April, 1895. Hodge.

[2] *Icazbalceta*, Mexico, Vol. II, p. 370. *Herrarra Hist.*, general dec. VI, Lib. V, Cap. IV & Lib. III, p. 121.

Great was their disappointment on at last reaching the place, which had so long been held up as the land of promise. Castañeda writes,[1] "When they saw the first village, which was Cibola, such were the curses that some hurled at Friar Marcos that I pray God may protect him from them. It is a little unattractive village, looking as though it had been crumpled all together."[2]

Coronado was wounded in storming the pueblo, and while recovering he sent expeditions to the Tusayan provinces and to the rock fortress of Acoma.

A little later a deputation of Tiguex Village Indians from beyond the Rio Grande reached him and invited him to their country, which they afterward had bitter cause to repent, as he utterly destroyed several of their villages. However he accepted the invitation, and made these villages his headquarters while exploring the surrounding country in search of the *will-o-the-wisp*, Gran Quiviri—the Golden City.[3] In these expeditions his captains went up the river as far as Taos and down to where the Rio Grande enters the Grand Canon. He himself took a detachment of soldiers and crossed the plains to the eastward and is supposed to have penetrated as far as eastern Kansas, following the directions of an Indian wizard called Turk.[4] Coronado returned from his trip disheartened, and having injured himself by a fall from his horse, determined to return to Mexico with his command. Castañeda gives quite a long description of the Pueblos as they lived three hundred and sixty years ago, and as the customs which he describes are substantially the same as are found among these Indians to-day I shall quote liber-

[1] *Relacions de Cibola*, Cap. IX.

[2] See *Mota Padilla*, p. 113.

[3] *The Gilded Man*, Bandelier.

[4] See *Winship's translation of Castaneda. Report Bureau of Eth.*, Vol. XIV, Pt. 2, pp. 517–523.

weave. The women bring up the children and prepare the food. The country is so fertile that they do not have to break up the ground the year round, but only have to sow the seed, which is presently covered by a fall of snow."

. . . "The villages are free from nuisances, because they carry all refuse to a distance from the place. They keep separate houses where they prepare the food for eating and where they grind the meal very clean. This is a separate room, or closet, where they have a trough with three stones fixed in stiff clay. Three women go in there, each one having a stone. One of them breaks the corn, the next grinds it, the third grinds it again.[1] They take off their shoes, do up their hair, shake their clothes, and cover their heads before they enter the door. A man sits at the door playing a fife while they grind, moving the stones to the music, and singing together. They grind a quantity at one time because they make all their bread from meal soaked in warm water like wafers. The men here wear little shirts of deerskin, and their long robe over this. In all these provinces they have earthenware glazed with antimony, and jars of extraordinary labor and workmanship, well worth seeing. The people are not cruel, for they had Francisco de Orando in Tiguex about forty days, and when the village was captured he was found among their dead without any wounds save the one which killed him."

Forty years after, when the expedition of Coronado had been almost forgotten, three Franciscan friars, learning of several large, rich provinces, which the Spaniards had never visited, determined to set out for those countries and carry the gospel of Christianity to the Indians. On reaching the Rio Grande Pueblos, one of their number was sent back

[1] This is identical with the process used among the Pueblos at the present day. See *Jl. Am. Arch. and Eth.*, Vol. II, p. 163. J. W. Owens.

for more of the brethren. The two remaining were put to death by order of the old men of the Pueblos, because they interfered with their rites. The next year an expedition was sent for the relief of the friars, under the command of Don Antonio de Espejo.[1] Finding the object of the expedition fruitless, Espejo determined to visit a number of the surrounding provinces, penetrating as far west as Zuñi and Tusayan. His account of the Pueblos agrees in general with that of Castañeda. He was impressed with the richness of the land, and his reports to the Spanish court aroused new interest in the country, and led to its colonization.

Colonization. A few years later the country was settled by a company of 130 families and 700 soldiers, under the leadership of Don Juan de Onate, a wealthy and influential citizen of Zacatecas, New Spain. Onate followed the line of march of Espejo, but penetrated the country to a point farther north than his predecessor. The site selected for the colony was at the junction of the Rio Chama with the Rio Grande. The Indians were friendly, and gave considerable assistance to the Spanish, furnishing them with food, and even giving up a part of their village to them—a kindness which was illy repaid.

The first permanent "convento" was established at the neighboring Pueblo San Yldefonso, a few miles down the river. The site of Chamita for some reason did not prove satisfactory, and the seat of government was changed by Onate's immediate successors to Santa Fe, about thirty miles to the south-east. The valley between the two places was rapidly settled. The Franciscan fathers were very zealous in prosecuting their mission work. Many Indians were baptized; but this does not mean that they gave up their former belief, they simply added the rites and ceremonies of

[1] Espejo's *Relations de Viaje.*

weave. The women bring up the children and prepare the food. The country is so fertile that they do not have to break up the ground the year round, but only have to sow the seed, which is presently covered by a fall of snow."

. . . "The villages are free from nuisances, because they carry all refuse to a distance from the place. They keep separate houses where they prepare the food for eating and where they grind the meal very clean. This is a separate room, or closet, where they have a trough with three stones fixed in stiff clay. Three women go in there, each one having a stone. One of them breaks the corn, the next grinds it, the third grinds it again.[1] They take off their shoes, do up their hair, shake their clothes, and cover their heads before they enter the door. A man sits at the door playing a fife while they grind, moving the stones to the music, and singing together. They grind a quantity at one time because they make all their bread from meal soaked in warm water like wafers. The men here wear little shirts of deerskin, and their long robe over this. In all these provinces they have earthenware glazed with antimony, and jars of extraordinary labor and workmanship, well worth seeing. The people are not cruel, for they had Francisco de Orando in Tiguex about forty days, and when the village was captured he was found among their dead without any wounds save the one which killed him."

Forty years after, when the expedition of Coronado had been almost forgotten, three Franciscan friars, learning of several large, rich provinces, which the Spaniards had never visited, determined to set out for those countries and carry the gospel of Christianity to the Indians. On reaching the Rio Grande Pueblos, one of their number was sent back

[1] This is identical with the process used among the Pueblos at the present day. See *Jl. Am. Arch. and Eth.*, Vol. II, p. 163. J. W. Owens.

for more of the brethren. The two remaining were put to death by order of the old men of the Pueblos, because they interfered with their rites. The next year an expedition was sent for the relief of the friars, under the command of Don Antonio de Espejo.[1] Finding the object of the expedition fruitless, Espejo determined to visit a number of the surrounding provinces, penetrating as far west as Zuñi and Tusayan. His account of the Pueblos agrees in general with that of Castañeda. He was impressed with the richness of the land, and his reports to the Spanish court aroused new interest in the country, and led to its colonization.

Colonization. A few years later the country was settled by a company of 130 families and 700 soldiers, under the leadership of Don Juan de Onate, a wealthy and influential citizen of Zacatecas, New Spain. Onate followed the line of march of Espejo, but penetrated the country to a point farther north than his predecessor. The site selected for the colony was at the junction of the Rio Chama with the Rio Grande. The Indians were friendly, and gave considerable assistance to the Spanish, furnishing them with food, and even giving up a part of their village to them—a kindness which was illy repaid.

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[1] Espejo's *Relations de Viaje.*

the Catholics to their own in the belief that it gave them a more powerful "medicine." As time passed and the colonies grew stronger, the priests resorted to other means of conversion than winning the hearts of the natives by kindness, persuasion and holy lives. Zeal and consciousness of superior power outran discretion, and ecclesiastical tyranny began its sway. The intolerance of the age found its way to this far-off land. The Indians were forced to give up their ancient rites, and to at least an outward compliance with the religious forms of the Church. The "Holy Inquisition" was introduced and the highest officers subjected to its power. Meanwhile, the country was explored and convents established at the different pueblos. Mines of gold and silver were discovered, and the greed of the Spaniards soon found a way of utilizing the labor of the Indians in working them, and in many cases they were reduced to a condition of serfdom.[1] But it must be said in justice to Spain, that this state of affairs was never sanctioned by the home government. The laws prepared for the government of the colonies were wise and humane, and it was only the great distance and consequent lack of communication which made these abuses possible.[2] It is also true, although it occurred long years afterward, that many of the malefactors were finally brought to justice. Many of the fathers were also upright, holy men, and underwent privation and hardship for the Christian cause.

The feeling of welcome and hospitality with which the Pueblos greeted the strangers was changed to an intense hatred, and a determination to drive out the invaders when a favorable opportunity should present itself. Uprisings began about the middle of the seventeenth century, and

[1] For a vehement denial of this, see *The Spanish Pioneers.* C. F. Lummis.

[2] *Leyes de los Indios.*

continued at intervals, keeping the Spaniards in constant fear.

Revolution of 1680. The united effort of the Pueblos came in 1680, when a San Juan Pueblo, Popi, succeeded in bringing together the Pueblos from Pecos on the east to the distant Hopi on the west, to drive out the Spaniards. The priests were the especial objects of their hatred, as they were the ones who were endeavoring to root out the religion of their fathers, to which they clung with a remarkable tenacity. The Spanish under Otermin were driven out, and the unfortunate priests who were among the Indians met terrible fates. The "conventos" and everything that reminded them of the hated religion were destroyed.

Popi received the chief authority and strove to re-establish all the ancient customs; but three generations of Spanish rule had unfitted them for self government, and soon internal dissensions arose. A drought, followed by famine, led them to begin depredations on one another. Populous villages were destroyed, and a kind of reign of terror seems to have prevailed. Popi, who possessed many qualities of greatness, began to be arrogant and tyrannical, and was finally deposed; but was afterwards reinstated. The Apaches and Utas also began to make raids on the distracted Pueblos, to destroy their crops and to carry off their women and children; so that when Don Diego de Vargas in 1691 began the reconquest, most of the Pueblos voluntarily submitted, and were again baptized. Hostilities were renewed in 1693, and the Indians were subdued only after many of their villages were destroyed and their women and children taken captives. Again in 1796 the Taos, Picuries and some of the Tehuas rebelled; but were soon reduced.

From this time until the American occupation in 1847 the Spanish remained in possession of the country. There were uprisings of the natives; but these were soon put down.

The Pueblos have been changed from sedentary to fixed Indians. The outward semblance of Christianity is observed in all the Rio Grande villages, but for the most part they have retained their old religion, customs and institutions.

CHAPTER II

THE SOCIAL AND INDUSTRIAL LIFE OF THE PUEBLOS

THE social and industrial life of the Pueblos differs widely from that of all the neighboring tribes, except the Navajos, who are themselves seemingly becoming Pueblos.

The term "Pueblo," which to the Spanish originally meant simply village, has come to comprehend more than this when applied to these Indians. It includes a number of characteristics which serve to distinguish them from other tribes, such as communal fortress dwellers, irrigation farmers with special religious and political institutions. As stated in the first chapter, they comprise several stock languages, but they are essentially the same in customs, institutions and religious beliefs, although the several branches do differ somewhat in the degree of civilization attained. Thus the Hopi, or Tusayan branch, is the most primitive. Next to them the Zuñis and Acomas have best preserved the ancient civilization, while some of the Rio Grande Pueblos, that have come in close contact with the Americans, are beginning slowly to give up their old ways, and adopt those of their civilized neighbors. The condition which has done most to cause them to discontinue the customs and mode of life to which they have clung so long and so tenaciously, is the gradual isolation from the communal dwelling and the immediate influence of the priesthood; but this changed condition is confined to a few of the Rio Grande Pueblos. For the most part the elements in the civilization of these villagers which so impressed the early Spanish "conquista-

dores" are still present. The terraced fortress dwellings, the markedly superior clothing and ceramics, the exceptional industry, frugality, cleanliness, the strict monogamy and strange marriage customs, the governing assembly of old men, and the announcing of rulings and orders by the herald from the house-top, together with their underground temples, their religious priesthood and their strange rites and ceremonies, distinguish them, now as then, from their Indian neighbors.[1]

They are somewhat under the average in stature and weight, but they are well formed and often fine examples of physical development, and are able to undergo the greatest privation and hardships. They are generally, in appearance, more intellectual and have less of savage ferociousness than the Comanches, Utes or Navajos. The girls and young women are lithe and graceful, and sometimes finely featured, but they are married when quite young and soon fade. In old age they are inclined to obesity and grow more savage and brutal in appearance than the men. Centuries of close communal life have made the Pueblos gentle and kindly in disposition and given them a culture which can be gained only by human association, but tribal isolation has made them suspicious of strangers and their confidence is difficult to gain.

The costume of the Pueblos is simple, hygienic and picturesque. That of the men consists of a deer-skin shirt and trowsers, over which is worn a long robe or blanket. The feet are enclosed in moccasins and a band is worn about the head. Sometimes a cotton undergarment is worn. The dress of the women is still simpler. The principal garment is a cotton or woolen blanket wrapped around the body and fastened over the left shoulder and along the right side, leaving the right arm bare; this is fastened at the waist by a belt

[1] See for comparison *Castañeda's* account, Chap. I.

about four inches wide. The moccasins, or "bootes" as they are called, reach nearly to the knees and are painted white. In cold weather a cotton garment is worn under the blanket dress, and a light blanket is thrown over the shoulders. The ceremonial dress of both the men and the women is gorgeously colored and decorated. The hair of the women is banged even with the eyes, so as they say "the sun father may see and recognize them." The Hopi maidens bind their hair in two large rolls, one on either side of the head, Castañeda says, "like an old fashioned head-dress." (See chap. I.) The men usually arrange the hair in two braids. Of late years cotton garments of American manufacture have taken the place of the deer-skin, but the conventional forms are strictly preserved.

Their government is so closely interwoven with their religious institutions that most of the description of it is reserved for the chapter treating of their religious life. The villages are divided into clans, which form the social and political units; each clan has its separate tract of land and manages its own immediate internal affairs. The higher village council is made up of representatives from the clans, and the religious and civil officers are selected with some regard to the clans and the idea of proportional representation. Inter-clan relations are regulated either by the village council or by the junta and the caciques, a higher tribunal which is supposed to be directly guided by "those above." The Pueblos are industrious and, compared with other Indians, their lives are well ordered. In the spring after all the ceremonies for propitiating and gaining the good will of their deities have been completed, the ground is made ready and the planting done. Then follows another religious festival, to aid the crops in growing and maturing. The summer and autumn finds them busily engaged in cultivating and harvesting the crops, after which there is a festival of thanksgiving, and a little later a

great communal hunt. The winter and early spring is the time of story-telling, of hunting and of games. They have learned, through bitter experience, the lesson of frugality and of making preparation for the future. The value of co-operation in larger undertakings has also been learned. Such enterprises as the construction of irrigating canals, the clearing of land, construction of dwellings, and caring for the herds of cattle, sheep or horses is undertaken by the whole community. Other labors are carried on by separate clans or families.

The principal industries of the Pueblos are farming, hunting, pottery-making, skin-dressing and the manufacture of rude implements and articles of adornment. Trade plays a small part in their life, yet bartering is carried on to some extent among the various villages and between the Pueblos and the neighboring tribes. In this way shells from the ocean and parrot-plumes from Mexico find their way to the Pueblos. Formerly the salt-beds of Zuñi and the turquoise mines of Pecos furnished these Pueblos quite important products for barter; but from the old Indians we learn that this trading was carried on under the greatest difficulties. The Pueblo suspicion of all strangers and the treachery of the other Indians made the occupation a hazardous one.

The ruins of ancient irrigating canals found throughout the whole region show that the Pueblos have been agriculturalists for centuries; and the finding of grains in cave, cliff and communal dwellings shows that they cultivated, almost exclusively then as now, maize, with a few gourds and melons.[1]

The farming is done by the men. The ground is broken by means of rude implements, which merely loosen the surface. Then holes are made at irregular intervals by

[1] *Reports of the Peabody Museum*, Vol. XII, pp. 550, ff.

pushing a sharpened stick into the ground, and into these holes the seeds are dropped and covered over. Water is next conducted over the ground from the canals, which soon causes the seed to germinate. Wheat, corn and other grains are planted and cared for in the same way. Watchers are stationed near the fields to prevent the birds and rodents from carrying away the seed and later to prevent larger animals from destroying the crop. In ancient times towers of stone were built to protect these watchers from marauding enemies, and the ruins of these towers have been, until recently, quite puzzling to the archæologist. Considering the rude methods used, the yield of grain is remarkable. The Spaniards have introduced other grains and fruits, but they have had little influence on the method of planting and cultivating them.

The ancient Pueblos domesticated the turkey, dog, and judging by their pictographs and the remains found by the Hemenway expedition, an animal resembling the llama, which has become extinct.[1] Most of the Pueblos to-day have herds of sheep, cattle, horses and burros, but to some extent they still depend for meat upon the wild game. The method of hunting pursued by them is successful for the time, but very destructive to game. The men go out in large bands and destroy all the game in a given area. In the hunt for rabbits and smaller rodents men, women and children take part, and these are times of great excitement. These communal hunts are under the direction of the war captains and are preceded and followed by several days of religious observances. This method of hunting originated, not on account of its efficiency, but in order to protect themselves against the lurking Apaches or other human foes.[2]

[1] *Congrès International des Americanists*, Vol. VII, 165. F. H. Cushing.

[2] "*The Delight Makers*," pp. 450, ff. Bandelier.

Pottery-making reached a higher development among the Pueblos than any where else in North America.[1] Many of the forms are symmetrical, of fine texture and beautifully decorated. This industry has always been in the hands of the women. The method of manufacture is quite simple; the clay used is brought to the house in baskets where it is reduced to a fine powder by grinding it on the 'metate,' the rude mill which Castañeda describes. Water is then added and the material brought to the proper consistency by mixing and working it with the hands. If for instance, an olla is to be made, a basket tray is generally used to mould the bottom of the olla, then the clay is rolled into rope-like forms, which are wound round and round, layer upon layer on this base, until the proper form is constructed. The unevenness is smoothed down with the hands or a piece of a gourd and the jar is set aside to dry. When dry, the firing is done and the jar is polished with smooth flat pebbles. The paint is put on by means of brushes made of yucca fibers. Comparing the sherds which are found in great abundance about all the ancient ruined structures, with specimens of modern pottery, one is at once impressed with the close similarity between them. The same varieties with like decorations are found; few changes are noticeable, but on the whole there has been a gradual deterioration both in the quality and decoration. The explanation of the deterioration will probably be found in the fact that the forms and decorations early became wholly conventionalized, which put an end to improvement.

Weaving, which was once an important industry, has gradually fallen into disuse among most of the Pueblos; but the Hopi still weave superior cloth, baskets and blankets, which the other Pueblos secure by barter. The Navajos long ago learned the art of weaving blankets and working in

[1] *Bureau of Ethnology Report*, Vol. IV, pp. 257–360.

metals from the Pueblos, and are gradually getting a monopoly of these occupations. Ceremonial articles are still woven by all the Pueblos, as they would regard it a sacrilege to allow these to be made by strangers.

The method of preparing skins, which is quite extensively carried on by these Indians, need not be described here, as it does not differ materially from the process used by other Indians.[1]

The rifle has, to a large extent, displaced the bow, arrow, and spear, but these weapons are still made and used. Most of their arrows and spear points, and formerly their knives, battle-axes, hoes and spades, were made from obsidian, which is very easily worked. Large quantities of the mineral, together with broken implements are found about the ruined pueblos, which show that neither the material used nor methods of making such implements have changed since these were inhabited.

The habitations of the Pueblos are one of the most strikingly characteristic features of their culture. The early Spanish explorers were very much impressed by the structures they found in this region, and described them as castles. The stone ruins especially puzzled them, as they could only explain them in terms of the feudalism with which they were familiar. Thomas Wentworth Higginson says:[2] "The early explorers reasoned just as archæologists reasoned for three centuries longer, that structures so vast could only have been erected by a despotism. They saw an empire where there was no empire. They supposed themselves in the presence of a feudalism like their own. All their descriptions were cast in the mould of feudalism, and the mould remained unbroken until the civilized world

[1] *Woman's Work in Primitive Culture.* O. T. Mason.

[2] *Harper*, Vol. LXV, pp. 342–355.

within thirty years rediscovered the Pueblos." For many years it was held that buildings so vast must have been constructed by a superior civilization which in some mysterious way had disappeared; but a careful study of these ruins shows that the difference between the ancient and modern dwellings is not great, and whatever changes have taken place have been in location and materials used and not in form or method of construction. The cavity lodges are an apparent exception to this, but they were usually inhabited in connection with communal dwellings in the vicinity.[1]

The method of construction, whether the building be of stone or adobe, is essentially the same. Both sexes take part in the construction. (See Castañeda's description, chap. I.) Upright posts are placed in the ground about the area to be enclosed, and the ground within is leveled and made hard by adding a layer of adobe, which is wet and made into a mortar, then carefully smoothed and left to dry. The stone or adobe wall is then laid up between and around the posts, generally completely covering them.[2] Large beams are then laid across the walls for the support of the roof. At right angles to these beams series of poles are laid, and over them is placed a layer of branches; the whole is then covered to the depth of a foot or more with adobe. When the houses are more than one story in height, the roof of the lower is taken for the base of the upper; in this way the houses are built five and six stories in height. Each story above the first is smaller than the one below, and set back near the rear walls of the lower story, which gives the houses a terraced form and leaves a court before each one. Openings are left in the roof, and ladders pro-

[1] *Outlines of Zuñi Creation Myths, Report Bureau of Ethnology*, Vol. XIII, pp. 321–447.

[2] The upright posts are sometimes omitted.

ject through them from the floor below. Formerly, these were the only means of entrance, but of late years doors have been cut through the side walls; but the priests and old men do not cease to lament this innovation and use their efforts to prevent it whenever possible. The outside walls are usually plastered over with a layer of adobe, while the inside walls are whitewashed with a mixture of gypsum. There are some modifications of this method of construction made necessary by geologic formations and other causes, but this is the prevailing type.

The writer has examined with some care the ancient ruins in widely separated parts of this region, as well as the more modern structures, with the method of their construction, and bases his judgment on this examination. The large stone ruin on the Animas River in north-western New Mexico shows the similarity between the ancient and modern structures very closely, as the walls and timber of the lower stories are in an almost perfect state of preservation.[1] It was built about three sides of a rectangular court, and judging from the amount of debris was about five stories in height. On the fourth side the court was enclosed by a row of low buildings and a wall. The outside of the structure presented on every side a plain vertical wall, while the inside showed the terraces, the lowest part being next the court. It is typical of both ancient and modern structures. The construction of the walls, the size and arrangement of the timbers, and the terraced form are essentially the same as those of the modern Pueblos of Taos and Acoma. The Kivas, or subterranean council chambers, have changed even less than the dwellings, which is in accordance with the law of the survival of conventionalized sacred forms when their utility is no longer apparent. They are probably survivals of the medicine teepee of skins or bark.[2]

[1] *Report of the Peabody Museum*, Vol. III, pp. 550, ff.

[2] *Outlines of Zuñi Creation Myths. Report, Bureau of Ethnology*, Vol. XIII.

Those of the Rio Grande Pueblos are conical in form, with an opening at the top, which is used both for an entrance and to allow the smoke to escape, for during any ceremony a fire must be kept burning in the centre of the floor, no matter what the condition of the weather may be. The rectangular form at Zuni and Hopi is probably due to environmental conditions, which were forced upon these Pueblos.[1]

The great size and large numbers of ruins scattered over this region have given rise to the belief that formerly the country was much more densely populated than at present, but recent investigations show that this is an unnecessary assumption.[2] The clan regulations which compel exogamy, and the husband to live with his wife's people, cause a continual fluctuating from one village to another, following the direction of those clans in which females predominate. Thus one portion of a village may receive constant additions, while another portion is being abandoned. Also the superstitious dread which those people have of places where they have been visited by calamities, such as fatal diseases and famine, often causes the abandonment of entire villages. If we add to this the frequent harassing of exposed villages by their savage neighbors, making them untenable, the large number and size of these ruins may be easily accounted for. The people of Cochiti have traditions of the successive abandonment of seven different villages, each one of which has been identified by ethnologists.[3] Of all the Pueblos which Coronado visited in 1540, only two occupy at present the same site, Taos and Acoma.

On the whole there has been a gradual deterioration in

[1] *Outlines of Zuñi Creation Myths.*

[2] *Report of the Bureau of Ethnology*, Vol. VII, pp. 3–228; Vol. XIII, pp. 119–261.

[3] *Wanderings of Cochiti. Scribner's Mag.*, Vol. XIII, pp. 92, ff. C. F. Lummis.

their dwellings, due to Spanish and American protection, which made the fortress feature unnecessary, and the fact that their changed location nearer to their farming lands and water, has made the procuring of building rock very difficult, so that at present most of the buildings are of adobe.

The Pueblos are almost an enigma in their social life. They are in constant subjection to their superstitious fears, and yet they are generally joyful and happy. There is a wide-spread popular error in this respect, regarding the Pueblos as well as primitive life in general. It is not the happy, careless life it is generally thought to be, nor is it the dogged, sullen subjection described by some late writers. This paradoxical condition is due in part to the comparatively feeble power of attention of the savage or barbarian, which does not permit him to hold one idea in consciousness long enough for it to produce any profound effect. The careless observer might easily mistake the Pueblos for a happy, careless and contented people, seeing them engaged in numerous games, or laughing and singing while at work, and making merry at their festivals. They are much given to social gatherings for gossip and exchange of friendly greetings. It is a relief from their generally monotonous lives. While they cannot rid themselves of their religious fears, they impose joy upon themselves as a duty, and a sinister mien may even place one under suspicion of being engaged in evil magic.

Most of their games are very old, or, at least, their origin is placed by their traditions far back in their early career. The origin of each of the ancient ones is accounted for in a tale which describes its establishment by the gods or some culture hero, so that even they have a certain sacredness thrown about them. Winter and early spring are the seasons most given to games. The Indians everywhere are

great gamblers and the Pueblos are no exception to the rule; but the feature which is of especial interest in this discussion is the religious or superstitious significance which is attached to the games. Two or three examples will show this. One of their games is considered of great importance, as many tales of witchcraft and enchantment have grown up in connection with it. The game is played with a hoop, which is made by bending a green branch until the ends meet, and then it is gaily decorated with streamers and cross bands. To play the game requires two or more persons, the hoop being rolled along the ground by one person while another tries to jump or throw a spear through it. When one jumps through the magic hoop of the witches he is immediately changed into some other form, as that of a bird or a dog and thereafter is in the power of the witch. This game is called Ma-kur by the Tiguas.[1]

There is an old game called by Tehaus, *Kanute*, which is played by most of the Pueblos and also by the Utes and Navajos. It illustrates a curious interweaving of superstitions, divinations and pious supplication, with the skill, trickery and imposture of the professional gambler. Four hollow tubes are prepared about four inches long and an inch and a half in diameter. A slender rod of wood is placed in one of the tubes and then all are buried in a heap of sand. The players are divided into two groups which are usually stationed at opposite ends of a long room or open court. Each group has its tubes and heap of sand in which to bury them. When one side has buried its tubes with much ceremony, and all the skill known to the Indian, one of the opposing players advances to the pile, and after practicing all his arts of divination and whatever trickery he can

[1] *The Man Who Married the Moon, and other Ind. Folk stories.* C. F. Lummis.

use without being detected, endeavors to select the tube containing the rod. If he is successful it counts a certain number of points for the side which he represents. If he fails, the number of points lost is determined by how far numerically the tube selected is from the one containing the rod. While the diviner is practicing his arts both groups sing a weird chant-like song as an invocation to the deities, one that the diviner may be successful, the other that he may be confused.

The Pueblos are very fond of races, and indulge in the sport as often as occasion permits. There is an annual foot race at several of the villages, for which great preparation is made. The whole village is divided into two factions for the occasion and party spirit runs high. Great quantities of goods change hands by the result. Preparatory rites and ceremonies are performed by the priests on each side for several days before the race, and the runners must also purify themselves and perform numerous ceremonies. Each side confidently expects the help of the gods and nothing is left undone to secure it.

They have quite a large number of games, but all are characterized by conjurations, divinations, prayers and incantations. Indeed, they may be said to form the most important features of each.

Art. It is quite important to consider the relation of the static civilization of the Pueblos to their attempts to express their conception of the beautiful, as a definite arrest of development is always shown in the conventionalizing of art. The art of the ancient Egyptians exhibits this conventionalization, due to her over-reverence for the past, in a striking manner. In the architecture of the Pueblos utility overshadowed all other considerations. Ever present danger made this necessary. Sculpturing seems to have been strangled in its infancy, since a fair beginning was made.

The life-sized mountain lions near the ancient ruins of the Rito des Frijoles, cut from the lava rock, bear a considerable resemblance to these animals and show some degree of skill. Occasionally a stone fetich is found which indicates appreciation of form, and fidelity in reproduction; but, on the whole, the fearful conceptions of their deities has had its baneful influence on their expression of form and has made most of their doll and stone fetich representations of the gods simply hideous or to the uninitiated, meaningless and crude forms. They represent the terrible rather than the beautiful in art. Of the pottery notice has already been taken, but a few words may be added regarding the painted decorations. The prevailing forms of Pueblo pottery are the globular olla, the wide flaring bowl and the shallow tray. The decorations are chiefly, though not always, confined to the outside. There are several kinds of ware which may be distinguished by the colors, including a dull-black, a glossy-black, dark-red, dark-brown and the very light brown, the finest being usually the light brown and the glossy-black. The predominating decorations are geometrical patterns, although a few highly conventionalized animal forms are found.

Mr. W. H. Holmes says of these decorations,[1] "Beginning with the simple waved or broken line, we pass through all grades of increasing complexity to chains of curvilinear and rectilinear meanders in which the links are highly individualized, being composed of a sigmoid line terminating in reversed hooks, but in no case do we reach a loop in the curved or an intersection in the angular forms. * * * * * The constructional character of the art in which these lineal forms developed, although they encouraged geometrical elaboration, forbade intersections or crossing of the line upon itself, and the genius of the decorator never freed itself from this bondage." The bondage here referred to proceeds from the belief in the animistic character of the finished bowl, which forbids the closing of its "path of life" by a loop, an intersection or completely encircling band. These geometrical decorations with the same limitations prevail on the most ancient pottery dug from the mounds, and that manufactured to-day.

[1] *Bureau of Ethnology Report*, Vol. IV, p. 359.

Of the remainder of Pueblo art little need be said here. The picture-writing, aside from totemic signatures, consists, for the most part, of highly symbolized signs of objects and the most common phenomena of nature. The turquoise ornaments noted by the Spanish historians are still highly prized, and form an important part of their ceremonial regalia. Some fair specimens of silver-working are to be found, and their shell and bead-work is a little above that of all their neighbors; but specimens of all these articles found in the ruins show quite as skilled workmanship as those which are made by living Pueblos.

Like the languages of all primitive folk, those of the Pueblos are almost wholly destitute of abstract terms; hence they naturally resort to figurative speech. Similes and metaphors abound, and these, together with a certain rhythm, make their descriptions often become quite poetic. The songs they sing and the tales they tell are in a kind of blank verse, which is not without beauty in its simplicity and naturalness. What may be called the Pueblo Epic recounts the wanderings of the people and the marvelous events which they beheld while being led to their final abiding-place by the Hero Twins, Children of the Sun. The essential similarity of the versions of this story in the various villages shows a unity of thought, as well as a unity of social and industrial activity. A few brief examples of their literature will show the deep religious spirit breathed in their poems, and something of their mode of thought.

From the origin of the priesthood of the Bow:[1]

"The fathers in prayer bowed their faces,
And secretly prayed in their hearts.
The people who watched them held breath
And covered their mouths with their robes
In dread of the power of magic,
And in woe for the doom of their fathers.
The gods to the right and the left
Took their stand by the side of the waters
As erst they had stood by the cloud shield,
Their weapons of magic between them.
In lines to the eastward before them
The warriors made ready for travel
Apart from, but circling around them."

* * * * * * *

Six times did they lift up in silence
The song-staff and hoop of the drum,
Then struck with the might of their sinews.
The sound shook the valley with thunder,
The meal on the drum-head was lifted
And danced as the rain cloud around them,
The waters below moved and bubbled
And mists, like cold breath, ascended;
As wind o'er an urn the song sounded.
Black cloud-steps rose up from the quarters
And darkened the day with their shadows.
When the first name was named by the singers
The earth rocked with earthquakes and thunder
And the war of swift storms in the Northland.

* * * * * * * *

When they named the sixth name of the song strand,
Sai-shiwani tore the earth open.
Ghosts, corpses and demons of blackness
Writhed forth in hot flames from the cavern
And hurled the gods into the water.
Black smoke rose and stifled the people,
Who fell like the stricken of lightning:
It stiffened the drummers and singers
Whose song ceased to sound, when all weakly
They named the last name of the song-strand,
Nor moved when replied *Unahsinte*,

[1] *Report of Bureau of Ethnology*, Vol. XIII, p. 420.

Whirling in (twisting trees, as the spinner
Twists fiber of yucca) and rescued
The twain from the hot surging waters,
Dried the foam in their hair to war bonnets,
Caught his brothers, the wind gods, in order
And hurled them each one to his mountain,
In the north, in the west and the southward,
In the east and upper and under,
And rising uplifted the smoke clouds.
Lo! The world was alight with the sunshine
And bending above was the rainbow.

But the drummers and singers were sitting
Lifted up by the power of the ancients;
Close enwrapped in the dust swept around them,
Made stark by the war of the death sounds.
Fixed in death by the shock of the lightning,
Burned hard by the first mingled fire draughts,
Sat still with their drum in the middle,
As they sit evermore in that valley.

SONG OF WINTER.

"The rattle-tailed serpents
Have gone into council
For the god of the ice caves
From his home where the white-down
Of wind in the Northland,
Lies spread out forever,
Breathes over our country
And breaks down the pine boughs."

THE MOON MOTHER.

Dear Mother Moon, so pale above
Who bends her watch to guard,
And with her sight dear bought the night,
To give her children sleep.

So sing the Tiguas of the moon, whom they believe to have been deprived of sight at her own request, to save her young husband, the sun, and in order that the young earth might have night, and her children—all creatures—have sleep. * * * * *

In the foregoing chapter, two lines of proof have been followed to show the static condition of the Pueblo civilization, namely: (1) The historical, in which the customs of three hundred and sixty years ago, as described by the historian of the Coronado expedition and his followers, are compared with those found among these Indians to-day, in order to prove that no essential changes have taken place. The industrial, social and religious customs of to-day, even in their minor details, are substantially identical with those described by Spanish and American writers from Castañeda's time onward. (2) The records of their ancient monuments, in which the communal Kivas, and the stone implements, potsherds, garments and grains found in and about them, all bear witness that long before the Spanish discovery the customs were established which characterize them to-day, and offer the strongest corroborative evidence of their arrested development. It is probable that either line of proof is sufficient alone to establish the fact, but taken together they place it beyond question.[1]

[1] Mr. Frank H. Cushing, who lived for several years at Zuñi, in order to study the customs of these Indians, describes the static condition of the Zuñis very clearly in his article on "The Outlines of Zuñi Creation Myths." *Report, Bureau of Ethnology*, Vol. XIII, page 340.

CHAPTER III.

INSTITUTIONAL AND RELIGIOUS LIFE OF THE PUEBLOS.

So closely interwoven are the religious, political and sociological systems of the Pueblos that no adequate knowledge of one can be had apart from the others. Their religious hierarchy is but a reflection of their political and sociological systems, and the civil official is also usually a religious functionary.[1] Their organization is very complex and as as a rule unsystematic. The number of officials is great, and their functions are not well defined and even change according to circumstances. Thus, in peace the governor is nominally, at least, supreme, while in war the war-captain is the chief ruler; but both are in a measure, through their religious fears, subject to religious functionaries called Caciques.

A brief outline sketch of these systems is all which the limitations of this dissertation will permit.

Like other tribes of North American Indians, the Pueblos are divided into clans as the unit of organization, and descent is in the maternal line, that is, the children belong to the mother and take her name and totem. Marriage is exogamous. A man is not allowed to marry within his own clan, as all members of this clan are his relatives, and no members of another clan are considered related to him, although they may be the children of his own brother. Formerly these rules were more rigidly adhered to than at present. The decrease in numbers has in some pueblos so reduced

[1] *Popular Science Monthly*, Vol. XXI, p. 186, ff.

the number of clans that the carrying out of this rule is impossible.

When a man marries he goes to live at the house of his wife's family, and should he maltreat her she has the right to send him away. This, however, rarely occurs. The house and everything in it, save a few personal articles, belong to the wife, while the horses, cattle, sheep and other live stock are the husband's property; although he seldom disposes of them without consulting his wife. The crops also belong to him so long as they are in the fields, but when they are stored for winter they become the property of the wife.

Each village is comprised of a number of clans and corresponds with the tribe of roving Indians. Instead of having political phratries such as are found among the Iroquois and Muscogees, they are divided into religious or priestly societies which are secret organizations, membership in which is secured only by election and initiation. The number of these societies differs in the various villages. The disappearance of clans in which some of the officials were hereditary, and contact with the whites, account largely for the changes. At Zuñi the number is thirteen, divided into four groups,[1] while among some of the Rio Grande Pueblos the number is reduced to four.

The social and religious systems of Zuni are thus described by Mr. Cushing:[2] "Based upon this sociologic system (clan organizations and sacred orders) the government of Zuñi embraces three principles—the ecclesiastical, the martial and political; the outgrowth of which in their order of procedure are the Caciqueships, the War Chieftaincies, and Political Chieftaincies. Supreme in national as well as ecclesiastical affairs, is the priest or Cacique of the

[1] *Century Magazine*, Vol. XXVI, pp. 25, ff.

[2] *Popular Science Monthly*, Vol. XXI, pp. 186–192. F. H. Cushing.

Sun, Pek-win-a, under whom are four caciqueships of the Temple with the auxiliary office of the priestess of the seed.

"The democracy of the Pueblos is a myth. Their political fabric is set up and woven by an elaborate priesthood, the only semblance of a democracy reposing in the power of the council, itself composed of all the adults of the nation in good standing.

"Now the organization of each one of the sacred medicine societies of Zuñi, less in importance than the sacred order of the priesthood of the Bow, is a miniature representation of the national ecclesiastical and martial organization. That is, each order has its *Pek-win-a*, or high priest, its four Kive, or priests of the temple, its two *Pethlan Shiwan Mosun Atche*, or priests of the Bow, and in accordance with the special office, its medicine or prayer priests, or masters, and its sacred council.

"Less strictly secret, yet more sacred, and organized on similar though more elaborate principles of office is the church of Zuñi—the order of the sacred dances lodged in the estufas—or Ka-ka, as a whole, has its supreme high priest, its priests of the temple, its warrior priests and its prayer masters. Each one of the six temples of worship (kivas) has also its like special system of priesthood, with added offices of song priests or masters.

"Both in its organization as a whole and in the lesser organizations the Ka-ka seems to be a perfect mirror, as it were, of the mythology of the Zuñi nation; just as the mythology is a reflection of the sociologic organization of the same tribe."

The organization of the Zuñi is typical of that of all the Pueblos, but there are many minor variations from this type. Thus, among the Queres and Tehuas there are but three caciques,[1] and the organization of the lesser priests is not so

[1] *Investigations among the Indians of the S. W.*, Vol. I, pp. 288. Bandelier.

complete, but nowhere is there a separation of church and state. The religious official is generally in part a civil officer, and officials whose duties are either mainly martial or civil, are through their intense religious convictions under the control of religious functionaries. The nation or village is the church, and the church includes the whole nation. The lines of cleavage are not determined by beliefs, but upon division of labor in conserving the wisdom of the nation.

The Spanish, influenced by the Franciscan fathers, in order to facilitate the proselyting of the Indians, forced some changes in their mode of government. The Caciques were inimical to the fathers, and by their secret rule were able to frustrate many of their plans. To obviate this difficulty the Indians were ordered to elect annually a governor and war chief, and these officials were the ones recognized by the Spanish rulers.

This custom still prevails in most of the pueblos, although the governor is usually selected by the Caciques, and is not much more than their mouthpiece. The election is simply a confirmation of the choice of the Caciques. No office among the Pueblos can be said to be hereditary in the sense that it descends from father to son, but most of the higher ecclesiastical and martial officers select their successors and train them quite often from their earliest years in the duties and secrets of the office. Some offices are hereditary in certain clans, others alternate, being chosen from one clan for one term, and from another the next.

Next to the Caciques in authority in the civil office is the Junta of Principales, chosen by the Caciques, but confirmed by members of the clans from which they are chosen. They decide matters of weight relating to the tribe, try cases of witchcraft and sorcery, which are quite numerous, since the the Pueblos attribute most of their misfortunes to this cause. In case of conviction the war governor acts as executioner.

These executions are secret, and are not infrequent even under American rule.

The Council, including every adult of good standing in the village, discusses all matters of general importance not falling to the Junta, and sits as a court in minor religious and civil cases. One attempting to gain a comprehensive idea of the gradation and limitations of the authority of the various officials is beset with innumerable difficulties. An official may be supreme in one function and very subordinate in another. In time of peace the governor is nominally the chief civil officer, and the war chief is under his direction, but in time of war this condition is reversed. One set of religious functionaries may officiate in winter and another in summer. When one considers the large number of officials, the system within system, each with chief and subordinate officers, it may be seen how the complication becomes interminable. To give anything like an adequate account of these relations would require a volume in itself.

It is the duty of the governor to call the council together, to regulate the industrial affairs of the village from day to day, deciding who shall care for the live stock, who shall take charge of the irrigating ditches, and who may leave the village. All these things are announced in stentorian tones by the governor's herald, from the top of the highest building, just at sunrise. The governor is also the official spokesman and business representative of the village.

The Caciques,[1] as stated before, are the most influential of the rulers, although they seldom give advice except when requested,[2] and then not before they have consulted the gods. They are the soothsayers and penitentes of the whole village. They are universally respected, feared and venerated by the

[1] *Investigations among Indians of S. W.*, Vol. I, pp. 276.

[2] *Land of Poco Tempo*, pp. 42, ff.

Pueblos; but pay dearly for their influence, for their lives are full of hardships. Fasts, prayers and self-mortification fall to their lot in order that the gods may remain friendly and the village be prosperous. Their thoughts are supposed to dwell constantly with the gods and on the welfare of their people. To prevent their thoughts from descending to less noble things they are not permitted to take part in the regular occupations of the village. A tract is set apart for them and cultivated by their clan. To the products from this land many presents are added, and they are generally quite well paid for their incantations over the sick, although they make no charge. What they receive must be voluntary gifts. It must be said that as a rule the priests are firm beleivers in the efficiency of their methods, but charlatans are found here as well as elsewhere.

The elective officials are often quite unwilling to accept the honors bestowed upon them, and itis sometimes necessary to confine them in jail until they grow more tractable and reasonable.

The laws of the Pueblos are all found in their traditions. No new laws are necessary, or at least are not desired.

The aim of their law is rather to prevent strife than to promote justice, although it may be said to their credit that disturbance or disorder among them is very rare. Occasionally in order to preserve undefiled their ancient customs a young man who has gained, by contact with the whites, advanced ideas, must be disciplined until he recognizes the superiority of the good old way.

In describing the religious system of the Pueblos, it may be necessary, on account of its intricate relation to the political system, to repeat some of what has already been given in the description of the latter. The priestly organizations of these people wield great power, and are in practical control of religious and civil affairs. Their numbers

are different in the various pueblos. As stated before, there are thirteen at Zuñi, and probably the same number at Taos, these being more remote from and less influenced by the whites. They are divided as follows:[1]

I. WAR.—Priesthood of the Bow, the most powerful both religiously and politically. It has twelve degrees, and is strictly *esoteric*. Each degree has a distinguishing regalia.

II. ECCLESIASTICAL.—Priesthood of the Temple, sacred and esoteric.

III. MEDICINE PRIESTHOOD, ten orders.

- *a* { Knife and cactus order. / Martial and civil surgeons.
- *b* { Magicians—stick swallowers. / Physicians—diseases of the digestion.
- *c* { The great fire and dance order. / Physicians—inflammatory diseases.
- *d* { The little fire order. / Physicians—burns, ulcers, etc.
- (*e*) Rattle-snake order.

IV. HUNTER PRIESTHOOD—Order of the Coyote or blood.

Above and including all these at Zuñi is the order of the Ka-ka. The organization is not so elaborate at the other pueblos, but there are indications that in former years they were quite similar, but decimation of their numbers, and the disappearance of certain clans has brought about a change. The four principal orders are found in most of the villages. The temples, or places of worship, of these orders are the Kivas—those underground chambers called by the Spanish estufas. Most of the secret rites and ceremonies take place there, although not infrequently one part of the ceremony is conducted in the Kiva and another outside, generally in the plaza of the village. This ceremonial life of

[1] *Century Mag.*, Vol. XXVI., pp. 25 ff.

the Pueblos is very elaborate. Religious feasts are frequent, and furnish the chief diversion of the people, but it is strictly a religious diversion. The Indian does nothing primarily for amusement. The stately, free independent spirit which has been so much emphasized and lauded in the past is a myth. He is, on the contrary, almost constantly the prey of his superstitious fears, an abject slave to the tyranny of his many-headed theocracy. His is a life of propitiation of mysterious powers, invisible, yet as real to him as his own existence. Even the Koshare and Cuiran-a,[1] which resemble the modern clowns in their antics during the ceremonies, are members of a sacred order, and represent a tragic episode in the traditions of their first wanderings.[2] It is the duty of the people to be merry at the appearance of these priests; for such is the command of the "Trues." The ritualistic propitiatory ceremonies of the Pueblos begin at birth, extend throughout life, and are continued by relatives after death, in order that the spirit may not be beset by witches in its journey back to the silent lake of tears, Shipa-pu.

Natal Ceremonies. Their natal ceremonies are quite elaborate, and have for their aim the protection of the infant against the power of witch-craft and sorcery, and to provisionally receive it into the tribal organization, and thus bring it under the protection of the tribal gods.[3] Mrs. M. E. Stevenson thus describes the natal ceremonies at Zuñi: "The Zuñi child is born amid ceremony. At its birth only the maternal grandmother and two female doctors are present. After the birth of the child the paternal grandmother enters, bearing as an offering to the new-born babe a pretty bowl, and inside it a tiny blanket. She then prepares warm suds of yucca roots

[1] Bandelier's *Report*, Vol. I, p. 286.

[2] *Outlines of Creation Myths, Bureau of Ethnology*, Vol. XIII, pp. 399–403.

[3] *Bureau of Ethnology, Rept.*, Vol. V, p. 545.

in the bowl, in which she bathes the infant, at the same time repeating a prayer of thanks for the life that has been given them and praying for the future of the child." (A separate prayer is generally made for the different members of the body; for the hands that they may be useful, for the feet that they may not walk in the evil path, etc.) "She then rubs the entire body of the child except the head with ashes. The paternal grandmother prepares a bed of warm sand by the right side of the mother, leaving a cool spot for the head. She then receives the infant and lays it upon its bed, and over it she arranges the blanket which she has brought. She then places upon the sand and at the right side an ear of corn—if the child be a girl, the mother, or three-plumule corn is selected—if a boy, the father or single ear corn. The fourth day after the birth the child is again bathed in the yucca suds by the same grandmother, who again repeats a long prayer. During the first ten days of the child's life the paternal grandmother remains in the daughter-in-law's house, helping in the preparation of the feast that is to follow. On the morning of the tenth day the child is taken from its bed of sand, to which it is never to return, and upon the left arm of the paternal grandmother is carried for the first time into the presence of the rising sun. To the breast of the child the grandmother carrying it presses the ear of corn which has lain by its side during the ten days. To her left the mother of the infant walks, carrying in her left hand the ear of corn which lay by her side. Both women sprinkle a line of sacred prayer meal, emblematic of the straight road which the child must follow in order to win the favor of the gods."

"Thus the first object which the child is made to behold, at the very dawn of its existence, is the sun, the great object of their worship, and long ere the little lips can lisp a prayer one is repeated for it by the grandmother.

The Zuñi are polytheists, yet while they have a plurality of gods, many of whom are the spirits of their ancestors, these gods are but mediums through which to reach the one great father of all, the Sun."

The immediate blood relations (females only) then assemble at the infant's home, that is, all the household of the father's house and those of the mother's house. This select gathering partakes of a feast which is presided over by the maternal grandmother. At the close of the feast the infant is carried by the oldest sister of the father to the father's house, where it is presented to him. He makes a long prayer to the sun to send down blessings on the child; to preserve it from the "evil path" and to help it to walk in the way of its fathers.[1]

Among the Rio Grande Pueblos similar natal ceremonies are performed, which usually have the aim of preventing the witches and sorcerers, those of the "evil path," from appropriating the child. A strange duty devolves upon the father. During the first eight days of the infant's life he must keep a sacred fire burning night and day, no matter what the weather. This fire can only be kindled in the ancient way by the flint or fire-drill, or by a brand from the hearth of the Cacique.[2]

Initiatory Ceremonies. Every Pueblo of good standing in his village is a member of one or more secret orders. On being initiated into these societies he undergoes ordeals, often of a very trying nature, a fuller description of which will be given in a subsequent chapter. Sometimes the initiations are entirely voluntary. Often boys are offered to the priests of a given order out of gratitude to them for some great favor, such as the curing of their ills. Others are selected by the priests on account of their special fitness for ecclesiastical duties. A man may enter to arrest some supposed calamity. The following was related by a native of Sia:[1] "I was very ill with small-pox, caused by angry ants, and one night in my dreams I saw many snakes, very many, and all the next day I thought about it, and I knew if I did not see the Hona-aite of the snake society and tell him I wished to become a member of that body, I should die, In two days I went to the house of the Hona-aite with my offering of shell mixture, and related my dreams and made known my wishes to be received as a member of that society." 'The Hona-aite sent for me and the other official members to meet him in the ceremonial chamber to relieve the sick man, who presenting himself with the shell mixture, informed the Hona-aite that he had dreamed of many snakes and knew that he must become a member of the society or die.' "I was two years in passing through the first and second degrees. I then accompanied the Hona-aite and members of the society to the house of the snakes, when I was made a member of the third degree."

Not to be a member of some society is considered by the Pueblos as a great misfortune. It is equivalent to being a social outcast, which is pitiful enough in any society, but strikingly so among the Indians.

Marriage Ceremonies. Courtship and marriage in this land, like everything else, has become crystallized into set forms. Marriages are contracted by the parents or guardians of the young couple, and generally the consent of the council must be given.[2] Then the young man may visit his intended bride, and, if she is pleased or favors the match, food is set before him. Then a formal dialogue takes place, which has formerly been

[1] For a more detailed description of natal ceremonies, see *Jl. of Am. Eth. and Arch.*, Vol. II, pp. 161–175.

[2] *Some Strange Corners of Our Country*, p. 68, ff. C. F. Lummis.

[1] *Bureau of Ethnology*, Rept. Vol. II, p. 86.

[2] See Castañeda's account in chapter I.

learned by rote.[1] Of course, this rigidness is not so firm but that the youths and maidens find ways of circumventing well-laid plans.[2] Some two months are consumed in preparation for the wedding, during which time the groom makes with his own hands a full wardrobe for his future wife. The clan of the girl's parents make great preparations for the feast which occurs after the marriage. The groom goes alone to the house, his parents having preceded him, and he carries his gifts wrapped in a blanket. The girl's mother sits at her right, and to the right of her the groom's mother sits; there is a space for the groom on the left of the girl, and beyond this the groom's father sits, and next to him the bride's father. When the groom enters the room the girl advances to meet him, and receives the bundle, lays it on the floor, then returns to her place, and the groom sits beside her. The girl's father first breaks the silence and says to the couple, "You must now be as one, your hearts must be as one heart; you must speak no bad words and one must live for the other, and remember your two hearts must be as one heart." The groom's father then makes a similar speech and it is followed by the mother of the bride and the mother of the groom in turn. This is followed by songs, prayers, and benedictions; after which the feast is spread. During the ceremony the bride carries an ear of white corn and the groom an ear of mottled corn, the same symbols which were placed beside them at birth.[3]

Burial Rites. As the Pueblo is ushered into life with ceremony, so he departs from it in like manner, his last act being, if possible, ritualistic, and the last sounds which ring in his ears are the incantations of the Medicine priests. During the four days

[1] *Century Mag.*, Vol. XXVI, p. 35. F. H. Cushing.

[2] *The Sia, Bureau of Ethnology*, Vol. XI, p. 21.

[3] *Some Strange Corners of Our Country*, pp. 26–39. C. F. Lummis.

which the spirit will require to wing its way to the lake of ancestral spirits, the medicine men put forth their greatest efforts in charms and incantations to prevent the witches from leading the soul astray by their wicked machinations.

Of the rites at the home of the dead man, Mr. Cushing writes: "Two hours afterward (after death) the women of the same clan which had sprinkled water and meal on him when a baby, adopting him as their 'child of the sun,' bathed his body and broke a vessel of water by his side, thus renouncing all claim to him forever, and returning his being to the sun." Mrs. Stevenson says of the Sia:[1] "The official members of the cult society are painted after death just as they were at their initiation into the society, the body having previously been bathed—the one exception to this rule being the Hona-aite of the warriors. The painting is done by the Hona-aite or vicar of the society to which the deceased belonged. Corn pollen is sprinkled on the head. Female officials have only their faces painted. When a man is not an official neither his face nor his body is painted, but as each man or woman looks upon his body a bit of corn pollen is sprinkled in a line under each eye and on the top of the head. While the body is being prepared for burial the relatives who are present, amid lamentations, cut the apparel of the corpse, including his blanket, into strips, and all is laid upon the body. After the body has been placed upon the blanket which is to wrap it for burial, if it be a man, the wife places a quantity of food under the left arm. The blanket is first folded over one side of the body, and then the end next the head is caught together just above the head and tied some little distance from the end, tassel fashion, with a rope. The rope is fastened around the neck of the corpse, and then continued around the body to the feet, and the blanket is tied below the feet to correspond with

[1] *The Sia, Bureau of Ethnology Report*, Vol. XI, p. 144.

the head. Two men perform this service and alone carry the body to the grave and bury it without further ceremony, although the weeping and wailing is kept up at the house for some time."

Anciently the custom was to cremate the body of their higher officials, and save the ashes in mortuary urns, while among the common people the custom was about the same as at present.[1]

Religious Festivals. Besides these ceremonials observed at various stages of life and at death, there are numerous religious festivals. Thus, there are regular summer and winter festivals, spring and autumn festivals, at the solstices, at the planting and gathering of corn, and before and after every very important undertaking in which a large or representative part of the village is engaged. One of the most important functions of each of these festivals is the dance, a ceremony which combines in itself a sacrifice, a prayer and an incantation.[2] That which the causal observer regards as an amusement, to the Indian is filled with the deepest significance, and is performed with great earnestness and pious zeal.[3] A number of these dances are connected with the chase, such as the deer, bear, turkey, and formerly the buffalo dance, and are in essence incantations which shall chain or paralyze the hearts of these animals, so that they may become an easy prey to the hunter. In these dances, and in the chase which follows, rude stone fetiches play an important part.[4] No true Indian hunter would think of engaging in the chase, or setting out on the war-path, without one of these "prey gods" to give him power over the hearts of the game animals or his enemies. Dances are also engaged in to arrest

[1] *Congres International des Americanists*, Vol. VII, pp. 150–194.

[2] *Investigations Among the Indians of the S. W.*, Vol. I, p. 298.

[3] *Bureau of Eth. Report*, Vol. XIII, p. 375. *Zuñi Creation Myths.*

[4] *Bureau of Eth. Report*, Vol. XII, p. 9. *Zuñi fetiches.*

threatened calamity, to insure the growth of crops, and as an intercession for rain. Of this latter character is the strange and well known snake dance of the Hopi, which in some respects bears a resemblance to the ceremonial of ancient Egypt.[1] Often they are dramatizations of events which are related in their traditionary lore — the priests of various societies representing certain mythic heroes, and acting the parts these personages are supposed to have played in the tribal history. Masks are worn by these priests, which are said to resemble the features of the ancient heroes, and while the priest wears his mask it is firmly believed that he is an actual incarnation of the hero or god he represents. The scalp dance and war dance are falling into disuse, for the Pueblos have not engaged in war for many years. The writer witnessed the latter of these at San Juan, New Mexico, and as it is fairly typical of these ceremonies, it may be described. Both men and women take part in the dance, but the women not a very active one. First, the war priest sprinkled a line of sacred prayer meal from the Kiva to the plaza, and then with it described a rectangular figure on the ground where the dance was to take place. A little later the men filed out of their Kiva preceded by the priests and musicians, and marched solemnly to the plaza and took their places along the line of meal on the south side of the rectangle previously described. At the same time, the women proceeded from a chamber on the eastern side of the village, and marched slowly to the rectangle of prayer meal, taking their places in line on the north side of the rectangle, opposite to and facing the men. The lines were about two yards apart. The musicians were stationed in double rank on the east side of the rectangle, facing the dancers, and formed the third side of the rectangle. There were four drummers in the first rank, and behind these stood four

[1] *American Anthropologist*, Vol. VII, p. 233 ff.

singers. The drums were rudely-made affairs, and were beaten with knotted sticks about a foot long and an inch in diameter, which were held in the right hand. The stroke made was a double one, the first heavy and the second light. The songs are sung in tones which could be heard easily a half mile. The music, to ears unaccustomed to it, is rather harsh and unmelodious, but close attention reveals something more than rhythmic noise. It seems that these children of nature have caught some of her melodies, like the low murmuring of the winds or their shrill whistle around a crag, the rumble of the distant thunder and the coming of the storm.

To the right of the musicians is an official who seems to be a chief of the musicians and sub-director of the dancers, and to the right of this official and distinguished by his long-flowing adorned robes is the war chief who directs the dance. The dress of each male dancer differs from all the others save in the head-dress of eagle feathers extending nearly to the ground, which does not differ materially from that worn by other Indian tribes of the mountain reigon. The remainder of the costume varies from a full flowing robe to a breech clout and moccasins. Each one carries the characteristic weapons of the Indians in his hands.

The faces of all are painted red with black horizontal stripes across the cheeks. Those whose bodies are exposed have white stripes along the arms and legs and are smeared or sprinkled with fine white meal. The women wear the conventional blanket dress of light colored material. Over the shoulders is thrown a shawl-like garment, of the same light material, which extends about to the knees. The regular "bootes" are worn, but for the occasion have been painted a pure white. The hair, which is banged in front even with the eyes, is allowed to hang loosely about the shoulders. It gives them quite a picturesque appearance.

At the first tap of the drum the men all advance by a half hopping, half leaping movement to a line about two yards beyond the line of women. Then with a short sharp yell, resembling the bark of a coyote, they turn to the left about and pass to a point two yards beyond their former line. This dancing to and fro and yelling at each turn is kept up by the men during the ceremony, except when they march from one plaza to the other. As they do not turn at the same time the yelping resembles that of a pack of wolves. At the first movement of the men, one-half of the women (alternating ones) move over to the line of meal just left by the men, where they remain. At each beat of the drums they raise one foot just clear of the ground and with a slight hop turn a little with each beat, so that they are always facing their lords as they dance from one side to the other.

The noise of the drums, singing and yelling is terriffc. As the dance progresses the music grows faster and more accentuated, the leaping becomes more lively and the yells louder and shriller. The excitement perceptibly increases until it reaches an almost uncontrollable stage, when the most phlegmatic onlooker is thrilled in spite of his efforts to keep calm. Suddenly, when the excitement is at its height, there is a complete lull. The music ceases and at a signal from the war chief the dancers march in single file to the other plaza, where the same ceremony is repeated. After repeating this a few times the men march to their kiva and the women to their chamber, there to continue the ceremony with songs and prayers. In this way they formerly charmed the hearts of their enemies.

The Koshare, or official Delight-makers, did not appear in this ceremony, but are a marked feature of most of the dances. They are strictly religious functionaries who have for one of their, as it were, solemn duties to make the people merry; and the Indian who does not grow merry at

their antics, lays himself open to suspicion of being of "the evil path."

Mr. Thompson thus describes their appearance at Jemez:[1] "As the dancers left the plaza two Indians appeared on the roofs of the houses at the north end of the court. They had hardly any clothing on them, and what they had was simply rags. Their bodies were smeared with black, their cheeks were whitened and their ribs and breast-bone outlined in white. Their general appearance resembled an animated death's head and cross bones on a black background. Their coming was so sudden and their make-up so extraordinary that their appearance was really dramatic and startling to me. The two went through a pantomime as if each was afraid to speak, when one mustering up courage at last called to the people in the enclosure in the intonation peculiar to these Indians when calling to each other at a distance.

"As nearly as I could learn the substance of their whole by-play was this; they were very poor, they had no sheep, no horses, no blankets, they were miserable in summer and more miserable in winter. They had heard of the great Jemez, how rich they were, how fat they were, and they had taken courage to come and see the great Jemez, but they were so poor they were afraid to come down among them. Would the great Jemez let them see the dance and give them a mouthful to eat? The Indians after jesting a while permitted the two miseries to come down among them and get something to keep them from immediate starvation. They immediately came down the ladder, begging right and left, creating amusement wherever they went. One of them begged something of a woman and she in turn sang a song accompanied by a shuffling dance, after which she gave him a bowl of food seasoned to redness with pepper. Some

[1] *American Anthropologist*, Vol. II, p. 352, ff.

tobacco which I had, proved a very acceptable gift. I was very much surprised afterward when the governor of the place showed me the tobacco which I had given him and I learned that he was one of the supposed beggars."

There is, in some of the Pueblos, in addition to the Koshare just described, an ecclesiastical group called Cui-ra-na, who perform the function of "Delight makers" in winter, while the Koshare do the same in summer.

Prayers. Prayers are offered by the Pueblos to their deities on every possible occasion, on leaving home and returning home, on meeting and parting of friends, at the rising and setting of the sun, on the approach or passing of a storm, and even in smoking a "cigarros" they blow the smoke to the six regions, as a prayer to the rulers of these regions.

For special occasions their prayers are elaborate. Those in connection with some important ceremonies have already been mentioned. The planting of prayer plumes forms quite an important part of many ceremonies.

The light feathers or plumes floating upon the air are emblematic of the thought winging its way to the one addressed. Were it left to wander at will it might go astray. Therefore it is tied to the spot where it is uttered by being attached to a stick. The colors with which the stick is decorated are symbolical, and bear distinct relations to the cardinal points, the zenith and nadir. "The Indian deposits his prayer plume before rude altars, in shrines, or in the estufas, as an evidence of worship, an intercession, or as a votive offering, as the case may be."[1]

The planting of prayer plumes is quite a complex undertaking. Everything among these Indians must be done in exactly the same way each time, and this is no exception. The operation is thus described by Mr. O. T. Mason:[2]

[1] *Investigations Among the Indians of the S. W.*, Vol. I, p. 288, ff.

[2] *Science*, Vol. XIII, p. 24.

"Mrs. Stevenson brought with her from New Mexico, in the year 1885, Wa-wah, a Zuñi woman, the most expert weaver and potter of her pueblo, and one of the priestesses of the Order of the Kok-ko. As the season of the summer solstice, or more properly, the summer moon, approached, Wa-wah expressed the greatest anxiety to join her distant people in the semi-annual plume planting. The prayer must be right to an infinitesmal nicety, or she would have naught to do with it. Meal must be mixed with powdered shells and turquois. Fresh twigs are gathered from the cottonwood trees for the stems of the plumes. The plumes or accompanying instrument of the prayer we are describing are made as follows: Take a straight piece of wood the size of a lead pencil and as long as the distance from the crease of the palm to the end of the middle finger. Make a slight incision around one end of the stick, take a short stiff feather of the eagle, the turkey, the duck, and the bluebird, and one or two downy feathers of the eagle, lay them together so all the under sides will be next the stick, and wrap their quill ends and the stick securely together with a cord made of native cotton, sufficiently long to have free ends five or six inches in length. After tying, to the free ends, tie another bunch of smaller feathers from the four kinds of birds. The upright feathers indicate the prayer is addressed to the sun, moon and Kok-ko, the trailing plumes that the supplicant asks for help to walk in the straight path of Zuñi morality.

"Ten plumes were furnished and dedicated to the several spiritual powers by painting as follows: (1) Sun plume, blue stem, feathers of eagle, duck and bluebird on stem and streamer. (2) Moon plume, yellow stem feathers of eagle, duck and blue bird on stem and streamer. (3–6) Kok-ko plumes, black stems, feathers of eagle, duck and turkey on stem and streamer. (7–10) Ancestral plumes, black stems,

feathers of eagle, turkey, duck and blue-bird on stem and streamer.

"At the time corresponding to twelve noon, Saturday, June 19th, Wa-wah performed the ceremony of planting the plumes. A hole was dug, 6 in. square and 14 in. deep, three inches of loose dirt being left at the bottom. Around the top for a foot or more the place was smoothed like a garden. Meal mixed with powdered shell and turquois was sprinkled about and in the hole. Wa-wah in her best attire, holding all the plumes in her left hand, knelt by the excavation; taking the sun plume in her right hand she prayed for the good influence of the sun on herself, her people and her friends, and then forced the stem into the loose dirt of the cavity on the extreme west side, the inner sides of the feathers toward the east. The prayer continued. The moon plume, the four Kok-ko plumes, and lastly, the four ancestral plumes were planted in order, all with their feathers inclining eastward. Wa-wah then arose, drew forth the little bag of sacred meal, poured a small quantity into her own hands and then into those of her friends, each in turn sprinkled the meal over the shrine, blowing gently with the breath."

An example will serve to give the reader an idea of the content of the prayer of the Pueblos. In parting from a friend the Zuñi say,[1] "This day we have a father who from his ancient place rises fast, holding his course, grasping us that we stumble not in the trials of our lives: if it be well, may his grasp be firm until happily our paths join together again and we look one upon the other."

Witchcraft. The subject of witchcraft has been alluded to several times as being a prevalent belief among the Pueblos. It is indeed a terrible reality to them and throws a darkening shadow over all their lives. All disease not immediately

[1] *Century Magazine*, Vol. XXVI, p. 32.

and plainly connected with its cause is supposed to be the result of sorcery. Witches and sorcerers, "those of the evil path" are supposed to be able to change people into beasts or birds at will by the practice of black magic, and many are the stories afloat concerning their wonderful power.[1]

Staid men and women who are generally truthful and sober-minded will tell you with the greatest earnestness of their experiences in the hands of witches; how they were changed into a mouse or a bird; or of a long series of misfortunes thus brought on; of their horrible snffering while in the power of the witches, and of their final release only through the action of some more powerful medicine, which some priest friend, to whom they made known the calamity, could exercise. They are entirely sincere in the belief that these things actually happened. It is a source of constant alarm, and an epidemic of small-pox, or other diseases which are so fatal to them, is almost sure to be followed immediately by a reign of terror, during which a number of summary executions take place. Accusation of the crime is nearly equivalent to a conviction. They are in a state quite comparable to that of Europe and America in the seventeenth century; blind fear rules. Most of the trouble which arises among this people is traceable to this cause. It furnishes occasion for most of labors of the priesthood and the trials of the secret Junta. It is feared above all things, and the one who practices it is supposed to have reached the acme of total depravity, and must be put out of the way.

Primitive Belief. The foregoing description of the political and religious institutions and beliefs will, it is hoped, have thrown sufficient light upon the mental condition of this people to

[1] (*a*) *The Delight Makers*, pp. 45–54. (*b*) *Some Strange Corners of Our Country.*

serve as a basis for the further discussion of primitive belief and its effect on the welfare and progress of the Pueblos.

It is difficult for one not having a long personal knowledge of primitive man to realize the peculiar relation which that one bears to his environment, and especially to the deities which he worships. To say that he believes in his deities in the sense in which we usually use the word belief, scarcely gives a clear conception of his attitude toward those objects or personalities to which his worship is addressed. They are as much matters of fact as belief; or, more correctly, they are beliefs which approach very nearly to realities. He converses with his gods as with his brothers or father, and he hears them answer in the wind, the storm, the hooting of the owl or the howling of the wolves. His idea of the spirit is also so closely related to the materialistic that in using this term to describe the beings of his theogony one is constantly liable to be misled and ascribe to him a purer religion than he has.

The objects of savage worship are beings like himself,—personalities,—in a somewhat more attenuated form indeed, but nevertheless corporeal, and worshiped not through love and respect, but to avert their wrath and secure their aid. As these deities are vastly superior to himself, in power either for good or evil, propitiation is of the greatest necessity, although they may sometimes be tricked, cajoled or even forced through charms, to lend the required aid. This stage of belief and worship seems not to be far removed from that accorded by some higher animals to those beings which are vastly superior to them.

In the struggle for existence among animals, individuals must early have learned to respond to elements of their environment in different ways. If the element was inferior, fear would not enter into the reaction aroused; but if superior

there were two modes of response; first, escape, or this being impossible, propitiation could be resorted to; and toward beings whose power was greatly superior the latter became more advantageous, for there was the possibility of the double service,—protection from the superior being itself, and gaining its assistance against other dangerous beings. Thus a form of worship became at some time an advantageous variation. Arising as a modification of fear, its utility insured its survival. The value to the animal is evident. It is advantageous to the savage because of its mediate reflex action upon himself rather than by its immediate and external effect. There is a conserving power in the unification of a common belief. Thus ancestor worship by uniting clans or larger groups has been instrumental in conserving the united, and hence stronger group.

The stages of belief recognized by Director Powell, of the Bureau of Ethnology,[1] are five: the lowest stage is that in which all things are endowed with "personality, will and design." Animals are given the attributes of human beings. Trees, stones, fire and water speak, have loves, hates, and ambitions. The second stage is that in which men do not attribute life indiscriminately to inanimate objects; but the same powers and endowments recognized by subjective vision in man are attributed to animals around him. He draws no line of demarkation between men and animals, and believes all the phenomena of nature are due to these animal gods. In the third stage the animal gods are dethroned and the phenomena of nature are deified. The fourth stage is characterized by the deification of mental, moral and social phenomena, and we have a god of war, of love, hate and wisdom. This stage is called psychotheism. It develops on the one hand to monotheism and on the other to pantheism. While the recognition of these stages is quite valuable for

[1] *Bureau of Ethology Report*, Vol. I, Introduction.

the purpose of analysis, it must not be understood that hard and fast lines can be drawn separating the different stages. It simply indicates the direction of evolution. A people may represent in their religious philosophy several of these stages at one and the same time, either as survivals or recently acquired views. In the higher stages many survivals of the lower are always to be found.

This is the case with the Pueblos. They seem at one extreme to represent the lowest stage, while at the other they have much in common with the higher stages. Thus they recognize animal gods, have defied the sun, moon, the stars and the wind, so also have they gods of war, of love and pleasure. It may be even said that they have made the first step toward monotheism in the recognition of one supreme deity, and the others as only mediators. But they represent most fully an intermediate stage, from which the transition is almost imperceptible, so firmly is the mould of national custom set. They do not worship the snake, the puma or wolf of to-day; but the ancients of these animals, who were created coetaneously with his own first ancestors, and being more powerful, perfect and mysterious, are therefore more nearly related to the gods than himself. He does attach a certain sacredness to some present existing animals whom he regards as mediators between himself and these ancients, who in turn are more nearly related to the great gods—"the Trues" themselves. The sun, moon and earth are not themselves gods, but are the masks of the gods who are controlling these phenomena. There is a graduation of authority up to the sun father, "All-seeing, ruler of all," but the thread of ancientism runs through the entire system.

Mr. Cushing thus describes the philosophy of the Zuñis:[1] "The A Shi-wi or Zuñis suppose the sun, moon and the stars, the sky, earth and sea, in all their elements, and all in-

[1] *Bureau of Ethnology*, Vol. II, p. 9.

animate objects, as well as plants, animals and men, to belong to one great system of all-conscious and inter-related life, in which the degree of relationship seems to be determined largely, if not wholly, by the degrees of resemblance. In this system of life the starting point is man, the most finished, yet the lowest organism. Actually the lowest, because the most dependent and least mysterious. In just as far as an organism, actual or imaginary, resembles his, it is believed to be related to him, farther advanced, powerful and immortal. It thus happenes that the animals, because alike mortal and endowed with similar physical functions and organs, are considered more nearly related to man than are the gods, more nearly related to the gods than is man, because more mysterious and characterized by instincts and powers which man himself does not possess. Again, the elements and phenomena of nature, because more mysterious, powerful and immortal, seem more closely related to the animals than are the higher gods, because their manifestations often resemble the operations of the former."

The belief in relationship based on real or fancied resemblance is shown clearly in their symbolism. Thus the forked line represents both lightning and the serpent with its forked tongue, because it is believed there is a close relationship between them. Again, the swift arrow is related to the lightning, and generally has the zig-zag line representing this phenomenon painted on the shaft. The snake dance, which has been mentioned before, has for its basis the belief in the close relationship between the serpent, the lightning and storm. It is an intercession for rain, and the snakes, by their peculiar relationship, become mediators. The Pueblo goes even further. Through his inability to distinguish between subject and object, he carries this relationship existing between form and function in either animals or inanimate beings so far as to construct objects of stone or wood in imitation of certain powerful animals, in the belief that he can, through his created resembling forms, gain power over these animals. Thus he has developed his fetichistic system of mediation, which is a prominent feature of his worship. The natural effect of this belief has been to conventionalize all their art, industrial, decorative and plastic, and once conventionalized, variation practically ceases.

The cringing fear and slavish worship exhibited by the Pueblo is not the result of any fear of punishment in a future life, for all Pueblos after death go to the great Kiva, at the bottom of the black lake of tears, Shi-pa-pu, provided they are not intercepted on their journey thither by the witches who are supposed to be constantly in wait there. It is the fear of agencies which may harm him in this world which incessantly haunts him. His every step is surrounded and controlled by supernatural agencies which must be prevented from doing him harm or won to his aid by propitiatory rites, as self-mortification, or by means of a magic medicine which he believes to have the power of forcibly securing their aid. This medicine or enchantment for propitiation or control of the gods is almost completely in the hands of the priesthood, as is also the body of tales relating to the establishment of the relationships between men, animals and gods from the creation of the people to the present, which form by far the larger share of their lore, their philosophy and authority for all their religious, political and social institutions. It is their unwritten Bible, Laws of Manu and Nine Classics combined.

The transfer of all this lore and power from the ancient wiseacres of the tribe to the keeping of the priest societies must have been a very gradual process, which was made possible only by the close community life adopted by the people, but the transfer was completed centuries ago, and since that time the priesthood has been in control. What this control has led to in the national life, the condition of the Pueblo best attests.

Results of this Form of Belief.

This state of belief, this ancestor worship, this placing of the "golden age" in the past, this development of a powerful priesthood, has been far-reaching in its effects, since it has resulted in the submerging the individual in the social whole. It has had a constant tendency to arrest development, and at best it has only preserved the status quo. The belief in the control of all phenomena by super-human personages who are themselves subject to human weaknesses, leads to dissipation of energy in endeavoring to gain the favor and assistance of these agencies, rather than attempting to become independent of the accidents of physical environment. Thus, the appealing to the rain god instead of more fully providing for means of irrigation, has hindered moral as well as industrial progress.

Ancestor worship, by turning man's face to the past, by apotheosizing the ancients, by placing the golden age behind him instead of before him, leads to that state of mind which can only reverence the past, and binds him firmly to the ways of his fathers. It discourages all innovations and makes the highest excellence consist in conserving the wisdom of the past and in transmitting it unsullied by mutations from generation to generation.

This form of religious belief, together with favorable environing conditions, makes natural, and one might almost say inevitable, the development of a powerful priesthood. The favorable environing conditions are: a sedentary life, close community organization and an isolation from external influences. These are the conditions under which the Pueblos live, and these conditions were present in other countries where powerful priesthoods were developed, such as India, ancient Egypt, and to a less extent Babylonia and Persia. Greece, and Rome too, saw the beginning of a religious hierarchy, but their contact with other nations and

other ideas enabled them early to emancipate themselves from its over-conservative influence.

Again, a powerfully organized priesthood thrives best among barbarians and semi-civilized peoples. The feeble intellect, and individual or family isolation which usually mark the lower savage, do not admit of complex systematic organization, and the enlightened mind cannot be fettered by the chains which such domination implies; but the barbarian or higher savage, with some capacity for systematic organization, yet being in thraldom to a religion based on fear, is especially fertile soil for the growth of an ecclesiastical ruling class. The supposed need of mediators or intercessors, for such simple minds, together with the need of conserving the increasing lore of the past, gives rise to a class of religious functionaries, whose influence and very existence depend on their being able to preserve and increase the reverence for things ancient, and the wisdom of the past. Thus the priesthood has for its function the reinforcement of already static tendencies, to bind more firmly the fetters of superstition by making what is wonderful more wonderful still, what is awful more awful still, and what is mysterious more mysterious still.[1] In this light the purpose of the very complex rites and ceremonies, the dances, the nightly vigils, the fasts and prayers of the Pueblo priest societies finds an explanation.

It must not be inferred from the foregoing that these priests are insincere in their pretensions, or that they realize the baneful effects of their teachings. The life of hardship, meditation and prayer which these priests lead makes them especially suceptible to delusions, and a life-long practice in jugglery gives them an expertness which is truly remarkable and which they themselves believe to be a supernatural gift. They are to-day, and have been for centuries, the real

[1] *Pychological Review*, Vol. V, pp. 254–278. Hiram Stanley.

rulers of the Pueblos. They have successfully stemmed the tide of progress and held their people to a given level of achievement with little regression or progression, and this will persist so long as their power is unbroken.

The fastening of this system upon each generation in turn presupposes a system of education whose methods serve to conserve and perpetuate existing conditions.

CHAPTER IV.

THE EDUCATION OF THE PUEBLO CHILD.

INDUSTRIAL, MORAL AND RELIGIOUS.

WE have seen in the preceding chapter, how the quite general reluctance of primitive people to permit innovations, which is doubtless due in part to mental feebleness and inertia, but in a larger measure to superstitious beliefs, has become so intensified in the minds of the Pueblos that any deviation from the ways of their ancestors is regarded as a sacrilege deserving the displeasure of both gods and men. It remains for us to examine the educational method which enables them to conserve the ancient wisdom as exemplified in their religious lore, manners, customs, industries and art, and to hand it down without material change from generation to generation.

It will readily be seen that something more than mere spontaneous intuition is necessary to accomplish this result. For the purpose of this investigation it is convenient to consider their education under three aspects, namely: industrial, moral and religious education. It must, however, be admitted that no definite lines of cleavage can be found between these divisions; since all acts are to the Pueblo religious, even to the minutest details of his every-day life. It is only when the immediateness of aim is considered, such as preservation of life or bodily comfort, that distinctions can be drawn between religious and industrial pursuits. Thus the planting of corn, although to the Pueblo a religious

function, has for its immediate aim the procuring of food for sustaining life.

Imitation, taken in its broader sense, is the largest factor in both their industrial and religious training, but it is not to a very large extent, except in the earlier years of the child, a spontaneous or free imitation. Although it is true that spontaneous imitation enters very largely into the education of most uncivilized races, the most important factor in the education of the Pueblo is an imitation which is not spontaneous, but is brought about by external constraint. It is the key to Pueblo education, as the Pueblos are the key to the whole civilization of the south-west. It is with this non-spontaneous imitative phase of education, which investigators of primitive life, and educators as well, have generally overlooked, that this discussion is chiefly concerned. The aspect of modern education, with which this primitive education is most nearly comparable, is the apprentice system—a system which still largely persists in every industry of rural communities and the more mechanical pursuits in all communities. The form in which it is found among the Pueblos is quite characteristic of this stage of civilization, and as it is more primitive in its nature than the method generally comprehended under this term, it may not be incorrect to designate it as a pre-apprentice method. The discussion of this method and its effects upon the life and character of the Pueblos is reserved to the close of this chapter, in order that it may be studied in the light of the actual facts of their education.

Industrial Training. In the earlier years of the Pueblo boy or girl a large measure of freedom is given, and owing to the lingering savage ideas and phlegmatic nature of the barbarian, many acts of seeming wantonness or cruelty of the children go entirely unrebuked by their elders. This is sometimes taken as an indication that their children are entirely uncontrolled,

but such is not the case. Indeed, just the opposite is true. The Pueblos love their children and look after their training carefully. Like the plays of children everywhere, those of the Pueblo children are symbolical; spontaneous imitation of the more serious work of their elders prevails and is truly educational, as it prepares the way for the later life into which they are to enter. But very early, even the plays, unconsciously to the children, are directed by their parents[1]. Thus, the dolls with which the child plays are representations of their deities, so that the child early learns to recognize many of his gods. But, unlike the civilized child, the Indian does not grow out of the delusion of a personality in these masked dolls; it even grows stronger with age.

The principal occupations of the Pueblos, such as agriculture, hunting, pottery and implement making, weaving and building, are all imitated in the plays of the children; at first very rudely of course, but later with considerable fidelity, for imitation has become almost instinctive with the Pueblos. They are tacitly encouraged in these plays by their elders, who provide those things which the child nature calls for when beyond the stage in which the bent stick suffices for a bow and the twig for the arrow, and when his plays become less purely symbolical. Thus, the Indian boy is provided with a bow and arrows and becomes a hunter, a battle axe and becomes a warrior, or he is given a plat of ground where he constructs miniature acequias and tills the soil or herds his flocks. With a few stones and some adobe he constructs miniature imitations of those buildings which have been the wonder of the ethnologist, or he may become a weaver, an arrow-maker or a skin-dresser. Very early, indeed, he will be expected to take an active part in the simpler of these occupations, for the Pueblo children are taught to work as soon as they can be of the

[1] *Primitive Motherhood, Proc. Nat. Congress of Mothers*, 1897, pp. 21–47.

least assistance. Likewise, the little girl imitates in her plays those occupations which fall to the woman's lot among the Pueblos; maternal duties, household cares, bearing of burdens, as well as the more skillful occupation of pottery making; basket and cloth weaving, bead and shell work, all find a place in her spontaneous activities. Like her brother, also, she is very early required to begin her life work. Little girls of five and six assist in caring for the younger children, carry water and wood, and even help to prepare the clay for the pottery and the material for the basket weaving. As the children grow older they gradually take a larger share in all the occupations common to the Pueblos.

Specialization does not figure prominently in this stage of development. The labor of one is generally the labor of all; yet there are individuals who, having reached a greater degree of skill, practically monopolize certain kinds of work, such as silver, shell or stone working, or making a given kind of pottery or basket, or the working of ornamental designs on ceremonial apparel. Thus certain individuals gain a reputation as experts, and the demand for their particular ware becomes so great that they are permitted to give up other occupations and devote their time exclusively to their specialties. The children of these specialists are quite likely to be taught the secrets of the trade or workmanship of their parents, and so some occupations remain in the hands of certain families, It is the embryological stage of specialization. But whatever the occupation, or whatever the skill attained, the method of instruction is the same. The boys are apprentices of the men, and the girls of the women of their immediate relatives, and they follow the pedagogical maxim of "Learn to do by doing" to its logical outcome. The theoretical or inventive field remains an unknown land. The learner has placed before him a model which he endeavors to reproduce exactly. No time or material is wasted in

attempting to improve upon the model, rude though it be. The one desideratum is the acquirement of a certain amount of dexterity or skill in doing just the things his ancestors have done century after century before him. Indeed, in all their occupations requiring skill, such as building, weaving, basket and pottery making, the forms have become so conventionalized by their beliefs that a religious sanction is placed upon them, which it would be a serious desecration to disregard.

That the method is not without its advantages is attested by its almost universal prevalence among primitive people, and its survival in modified forms in enlightened nations. It assures the conservation of the learning and occupations of the past, a standard to which all must rise, a stable condition of society, a freedom from innovations which may disturb the social or industrial order, and barring external conditions, a national longevity and the transmission, unchanged, of all the lore of the ancients.

Moral and Religious Training.

"It is a strange blending of never neglected religious and practical instruction in the ways and ideals of their elders."[1]

The moral education of the Pueblo differs materially from that which we have in our own civilization. In some respects he would not suffer by comparison. The implicit obedience of children, their marked respect for their elders, the kindness of parents to children, their natural helpfulness, generous hospitality, forbearance and industry are all marked characteristics of this people.[2]

In the wildest, roughest plays of the children or in the most intensely exciting games of adults, no Pueblo will angrily strike another. It would be beneath his dignity.[3]

[1] *Proceedings, National Congress of Mothers*, 1897, pp. 21–47.

[2] *Zuñi fetiches, Bureau of Eth. Report*, Vol. II, F. H. Cushing.

[3] *Some Zuñi games, Pop. Science Mo.*, May, 1891, p. 39.

The child who would disdain the counsel of his parents or refuse to obey unquestioningly their commands would be looked upon with horror; yet no harsh means are used in attaining this result. For him a better way has been found.

The Pueblo child does not receive commands to do or refrain from doing without the reason for the command being given. This reason is given in the form of a story in which the given action is portrayed with the good or evil resulting to the doer.[1] These legends or folk tales are very numerous, so that one may be found to illustrate almost any case that may arise.

The effectiveness of these tales depends upon the superstitious fear which is marked among even the children of the Pueblos. The circumstances under which these tales are generally told lends force or impressiveness to the lessons they contain. The grandfathers of the village are the story tellers, the primitive school-masters and historians of the tribe. The evening when the fires burn low and the close room is but dimly lighted is the favorite time for the repeating of these tales, and the solemn half-chant in which they are told, together with the striking gestures accompanying them give them a weirdly dramatic effect.[2]

They exercise a profound influence on the conduct of the children, and the moral laws they prescribe are seldom transgressed. Another custom of the Pueblos tending toward the same end is a dance expressly to frighten the children into strict obedience. The custom is thus described as it is practiced at Zuñi:[3] "The Zuñi have an annual dance expressly to frighten the children and keep them in good behavior during the rest of the year. Characters even more

[1] *The Man Who Married the Moon*, p. 6. *Primitive Motherhood.*

[2] *The Man Who Married the Moon.*

[3] *Harper*, Vol. 65, pp. 81, ff.

horrible than those with the buffalo horns are the chief actors. They represent fearful goblins who come to devour and carry off the children. They make the rounds of all the houses in the town, and at their approach the parents conceal their little ones, pretending to fight the demons off and defend their offspring desperately.

This makes a lasting impression on the children, and the mention of these creatures henceforth has a quieting effect. Formerly the Zuñis had a dance which took place once in thirty years. The ceremonies required the sacrifice of one child. For the victim the worst child in the village was selected. The mention of the festival was apt to produce good behavior in any child."

The virtues which the Pueblo father or mother seeks to inculcate are obedience, industry, modesty, and especially the avoidance of evil sorcery of all kinds, which to them is the acme of depravity, and they secure it almost wholly through an appeal to superstitious fear.

Religious Training. The education of the Pueblos which most nearly corresponds to that given by the schools in civilized countries is their religious education. This reaches into the minutest details of their lives, which are one incessant round of formulistic observances. The acquiring of their very elaborate ritual, which must be exactly transmitted and exactly used in order to be efficacious, is an educational task of no small proportions. Here again the instinctive imitativeness of the Indian proves very useful. The child is surrounded from his earliest years with rites and ceremonies which he soon begins to imitate, and to the end of his life, be it ever so long, he will continue a learner in this field.

At the age of about four or five years the boys, and sometimes the girls, are initiated into a secret society which practically includes the whole village. These initiations differ in detail among the various pueblos, but are essentially

similar. It is through these initiations that the child becomes a rightful member of the pueblo, shares in the communal rights and privileges and is placed under the protection of the tribal gods. To the primitive mind these initiatory ceremonies are so necessary, so sacred and impressive, that all their features are indelibly stamped in memory. Taken in connection with the elaborate rites and ceremonies which must later be learned, they form the larger part of their purposeful education. The initiation into the Ka-ka, as it is practiced at Zuñi, is described by Mrs. M. E. Stevenson in her article on the religious life of the Zuñi child (Bureau of Ethnology Report, Vol. V). The substance of her description is as follows: After eight days of preparation, during which prayers are said, sacrifices made, wood brought from the mesas, paints and ceremonial vestments prepared, nightly rehearsals made and many dances and ceremonials of the elders performed, the actual initiation of the child begins. The ceremony is begun about the time of the setting of the sun, by the priest of the sun sprinkling a line of sacred prayer meal about the village, marking (with the meal) the position of the priests taking part in the ceremony. He is followed by these priests, who take their places as indicated. The godfathers then pass along the line of meal, each one holding his godchild on his back by a blanket which he draws tightly around him. and as he passes the line of priests each one strikes the child a severe blow with a large bunch of Spanish bayonets. The Indian, from infancy, looks upon the exhibition of feeling when undergoing physical pain as a sign of weakness, yet so severe are these blows, that they force tears from the eyes of the children; but no cry is heard. After this test the godfathers take the children to the Kiva of the North, where plumes are selected and placed in the scalp-locks of the boys. A medicine priest then gives each godfather and his

ward a drink of the holy water which is kept in the sacred vessels. While they drink a prayer is said by the godparents and repeated by the boys. They then return to the plaza, where the children undergo a second trial. Each child kneels and clasps the bent knee of his guardian, who draws him still closer with his blanket around him. Four priests appear, and first having tested the thickness of the child's clothing, each strikes him across the back with the yucca blade. This concludes the first part of the ceremony.

"The second part takes place during the night in the Kivas, the boy sitting on a ledge between the knees of his sponsor. When all have taken their places, the priest of the North arises and taking a wand walks over to the first boy, and holding the wand towards the mouth of the boy, he breathes upon it four times, the child drawing from it each time the sacred breath passing from the mouth of the priest over the sacred plume. This ceremony is performed for each boy and by each of the priests of the West, South, East, Zenith and Nadir in turn. The *Ko lo wit si*, the plumed serpent, now appears at the entrance above. The high priest, the war priest and the priestess of the earth advance to meet the serpent, each carrying a large earthen bowl to catch the sacred water poured from its mouth. Each guardian fills a small bowl with the water, and drinking a portion of it gives the remainder to the boy to drink. After the water is exhausted a blanket is held to catch the seeds of all the cereals poured from the mouth of the serpent. These are taken by the priests and distributed to all present. This done, the boys return to their homes.

Early the next morning each boy is taken by his godfather and led to a point eastward some distance from the village, each sprinkling a line of sacred meal. A prayer is said which is repeated by the boy, after which the godfather, making a hole in the ground, plants a prayer plume. From

this time the boy eats no animal food for four days, and the plume which was placed in the boy's hair during the ceremony is not removed until the fourth morning after the planting of the plumes, when he again goes over the road with his guardian, who deposits the plume from the boy's head with a prayer, which is repeated by the child.

After this first initiation he is allowed several years to decide when he will take the vows made for him at this time by his godfather. But the most important initiation to the youth of the pueblo is that which takes place at the period of adolescence, when they are accepted as complete or "finished" members of the village community.

This ceremony, so general among primitive races, coming as it does at that period of life when ideas and ideals change, when sacrifices and ordeals are welcomed, and when profound impressions may readily be produced, marks an epoch in savage and barbarous life, the importance of which it is difficult to over-estimate.[1] The almost entire lack of any counterpart of this ceremony in modern public education, leaves unused a field which is not unworthy of attention. It is at this period that the boy enters a higher and more exclusive order of the priesthood, and every male of good standing in the community is usually a member of one or or more of these secret societies.

The ceremony at Walpi, a Hopi village, and one of the most primitive, is as follows: The initiation takes place when there are enough candidates, or about once in four years, during the November moon. In former times when the number of inhabitants was greater it took place annually. The actual initiation requires nine days, and is preceded by several days of preparation, which includes making of paraphernalia, bringing wood, preparing the altars in the Kivas, songs, prayers and rehearsals.

[1] *Journal of American Folk-Lore*, Vol. V, pp. 186–217.

Just at sun-down of the first day the novices are brought to the Kiva, naked, save for the scant white kilt fastened around the loins, and with the hair hanging loosely about the shoulders. Before stepping on the hatchway leading down into the Kiva the blankets and moccasins must be removed, as it would be a sacrilege to enter its sacred precincts with these garments on. The boys are carried into the Kiva, each holding a handful of sacred meal which he throws on the fire, which has been kindled for the ceremony by the ancient fire drill, and so is the sacred fire of the gods. The novices are huddled together on an upraised partition of the chamber, while their bodies are rubbed with a yellow pigment. A black stripe is made around the legs below the knees, and two vertical black lines are painted on each cheek. From this time the novices, or Keles as they are called, are not allowed to eat or drink for four days. Just at midnight a sacred dance is performed, and at sunrise on the following morning the boys are escorted, each carrying a deer's horn, to the plaza to witness a curious sidewise, shuffling dance, accompanied by stentorian singing. The Keles, still naked, although the November air is quite crisp in this highland region, must give respectful attention to the whole ceremony. At the close of the dance, they are taken back to the Kiva. Frequent alarums, patrols and excursions are kept up throughout this day to the surrounding Mesas.

From this time the Keles are not allowed to see the sun until the end of the ceremony. Just after noon, the boys, blindfolded, and forming a chain, by each one clinging to the blanket of the preceding one, are conducted by the priests to a distant portion of the village, where prayers are said. Returning, they are instructed in the songs and dances; this training continuing at intervals throughout the initiatory ceremony. On the third morning, at sunrise, they are taken again to witness the shuffling dance in the plaza.

This time each novice carries an ear of corn as the symbol of fertility, and during the performance of this ceremony they are seated and kept perfectly quiet. Late in the afternoon of this day they are dressed like women, in the oldest, most ragged clothing which can be found; each carrying a burden of some kind, as a bundle of fuel, a loaded basket or a cradle, and in this garb, dance the side-step dance around the whole village.

Each day the ceremony becomes more secret and mysterious. In the evening of this day messengers are sent along all the trails leading to the village to warn all strangers against approaching the village, by sprinkling a line of prayer meal across each trail. The songs, dances and prayers are continued throughout the night, and on the fourth morning sentinels are posted along all the trails at a distance from the village. At sunrise the same shuffling dance is performed, but instead of returning to the Kiva they pass in single file far out upon the plain to a mountain fifteen miles to the southward. This time they are arrayed in the finest raiment and make the most lavish display of jewelry and other finery which the village affords. They do not return from this journey until well after dark. While at the mountain they dig Mobi to use in a purifying process, and a white clay to be used in decorating their bodies. Before entering the Kiva on their return they dance four times around the village, although it must be remembered the boys have eaten nothing for four days. On this night every house in the village is kept dark. Patrols pace the streets making a terrific noise, with bells, shells, cans and drums. Two of the priest societies walk the streets in companies, and as the night wanes, they gradually increase their pace until at the time when the Pleiades reach the zenith, they are rushing around the village at a furious run. This is kept up until Orion is in the same position as on the preceeding night when the priests finished their song. About an hour before sunrise the priests of these two societies march to the roof of one of the Kivas; there, standing closely wrapped in their blankets they sing fine and solemn hymns. An hour after sunrise a fine feast is spread, at which the Keles, are first permitted to break their long fast. The exertions which they have undergone in the meantime make the ordeal a terrible one. Through the sixth, seventh and eighth days the priests continue regularly to instruct the Keles, while the different societies dance, in the Kiva and plaza, at intervals through the day. During these last days the Keles bear the impression of the sun painted on their backs. The whole ceremony is concluded by processions, dances, songs and long prayers to the gods to aid the boys in walking in "the straight path" of Hopi morality. The Hopi Indians have an initiatory ceremony for the maidens, which in some respects resembles the one just described.[1]

Ordeals and the learning of intricate rites and ceremonies, together with the body of lore which is the property of a given society, characterize all initiations.

The initiations are for the purpose of finishing the boy, as the Pueblos express it, but like our commencements, they are generally the beginning of a life of hardship, of penance and self-mortification; and as the priests are the conservers of the lore of this people, in order that it be free from error and variation great care must be exercised in transmitting it from the priests to the novices.

The songs, prayers, dances and other rites must be exact, even to the slightest details, in order to be efficacious, and it follows that in order to learn them in this precise way years of practice are necessary. The Kivas thus become their school-houses as well as their temples. To the Pueblo none of these rites or ceremonies are meaningless. Each

[1] *The Mamzrauti, A Tusayan Ceremony*, *Am. Anthrop.*, July, 1892, p. 217, ff.

one had its origin in the teaching of some god or culture hero, or are the dramatization of some important event related in their traditions.

The Pueblos generally believe in these traditions as they believe in their own existence, and careful students quite generally concede that most, if not all of these tales have some foundation in fact, which the Indian has clothed in the fanciful garb which his superstition has placed around them, and the uncertainty of the distant past has so intensified the glamour that it is almost impossible to separate fact from fiction. The Indian explains all phenomena in his own way; the problems of life and death, together with the phenomena of nature, have not escaped him, and he has an explanation for each which completely satisfies him.

The Pueblos had at the time of their discovery reached that stage in which most of the great body of lore had passed slowly but surely into the hands of the priesthood, and the religious instruction of the youth had been given almost entirely over to their care.

It is important to note here that the method of instruction is the same in the industrial, moral and religious spheres—a method which aims at an exact reproduction of the skill or wisdom in the possession of the tribe by generation after generation. The ideal attainment does not go beyond the wisdom of their fathers. The method has been dwelt on at some length in the industrial sphere, and what was stated of it there holds true in the learning of religious lore, rites or ceremonies. The model is brought before the pupil and he is expected by repeated trials to reproduce it exactly. Thus, if a song or tale is to be learned, there are no explanations. The song is sung or the tale recited by the master priest and the pupil learns it by repeating it again and again, learning not alone the words or melody, but the exact intonation, gestures and bearing of the master.

Of the two great forces which have lifted humanity to the present plane of civilization—imitation and invention—the latter has been almost wholly suppressed by the Pueblos. By imitation, as used here, is meant the conscious or unconscious repetition by one individual of the acts of another, while invention includes any intentional variation from the old typical form.

The method of obtaining this result has been designated the apprentice method, since it very nearly approaches that method, as it is practiced in the civilized world. It has its basis in imitation and habit, and has its value in the possibility of attaining given results with the least expenditure of energy, time, or waste of material. The notion of the apprentice method, as here used, embraces the conception of a master in possession of the skill, information or end to be attained, an unskilled or uninformed pupil or novice, and the transmission of the skill or knowledge, unchanged, from the master to the pupil. But in order that the method be efficacious some force must act to impel the pupil or apprentice persistently to strive toward the end to be attained. Without this force the method would lose its value, for, as a rule, natural interest languishes long before the necessary perfection is reached. The apprentice, left to himself, is usually satisfied with a very inferior grade of work, and falls far short of his ideal.

It is in this reinforcement that the system, as applied among the Pueblos, differs most widely from that found in more highly civilized communities. In the latter state the necessary persistency of effort is brought about by the master or parent, who, when natural interest flags and the task has become irksome, brings to bear the power of authority in moral suasion or physical force.

This condition quite generally obtains in rural communities, where all the homely occupations are learned by this

method. The boy imitates the work of his father, and the girl in the same way learns the household duties by imitating the model placed before her by her mother. The end to be attained in both cases is the same, the exact reproduction of the knowledge or skill of the parents. Variation has no place in this scheme of education, for the children are not supposed to make any advance beyond the attainments of their parents. This method, however, is not confined to the rural communities, but is used everywhere in all those trades or arts which are learned by what is called "the rule of thumb."

The advantages of the system are obvious. As there is no experimentation, no time, energy or materials are wasted. It is based upon imitation which generates habit, and habit once fixed, all subsequent actions become easier and more skillful, and, hence, the amount of work the individual is able to accomplish is greatly increased. But praise of the system is but an extolling of the advantages of habit in industry—a factor without which progress is impossible, yet without invention it may and does produce stagnation.

Educators are beginning to recognize that over stress placed upon any stage of mental development may result in arresting the mind at that stage. This is true of all periods, and for the most part is based upon the fixing power of habit. Brain paths or mental paths once formed are difficult to obliterate or change, and education must ever guard against over habituation in narrow lines, if the highest progress of the individual is to be promoted. This is the great defect of the apprentice system. Valuable as it is for the mere artisan, something more is needed for those who would become creators or originators.

The apprentice method for this reason must ever be opposed to continued progress—and the nation or people having recourse to it alone will sooner or later be brought to a stand-

still even when there are no other forces acting to bring this about.

This is the condition which is found to exist among the Pueblos. The method of instruction is not unlike that just described; but the agency which acts to reinforce a naturally conservative method of education is their religion, which has become a most powerful force, impelling the Pueblo to attain the wisdom and skill of his fathers and restraining him from any deviation from it.

Ancestor worship or ancientism, which is such a large factor in their religion, has turned their faces to the past and led them to attach a special sanctity to whatever is old. Thus all their art having become conventionalized and all their occupations having been taught to them by their gods or demi-god culture heroes, any deviation from the ancient way becomes sacrilegious.

The Pueblo father trains his son to follow in his footsteps in all his occupations, and superstitions; fear restrains him from departing from them. What is true of industry and art is more profoundly true in the transmission of religious forms and beliefs, for here a special sanctity lends force to the prevailing method. It is only natural that superstitious fear should appeal more strongly here, for the attention of both novice and priest is fixed immediately upon the object of their fear. In all cases it has been sufficiently strong to arrest development. It has led them constantly to attain a given stage of culture, and then has held them at this level. Without the method religion could not perpetuate its sanctioned forms, and the method without the powerful reinforcement of religious fear would not be so efficient a conservator of past achievements. But acting together there can be seemingly but one result—arrested development.

SUMMARY.

In the consideration of the problem of the arrested development of the Pueblos it has seemed best to the writer to treat the subject from the biological point of view. The discussion is divided into two parts; the first considering the evidence to prove that the Pueblo Indians represent a true type of arrested development, and the second, the causes which led to this condition.

A general survey is first made of the region inhabited by these Indians—its location, climate and biologic conditions and the character of the soil—in order to explain why the adoption of an agricultural life is a necessary condition of existence in the region. The Pueblos are then shown not to be of any one gifted lineage, but to be composed of distinct stocks of the American race, which strongly corroborates the view that their peculiar civilization is, so to speak, a product of their environmental conditions. These conditions are (1) an arid climate, a fertile soil and a scarcity of food plants and animals which forced them to turn to the soil for livelihood. (2) A human environment of savages whose continued attacks led them to segregate and construct fortress dwellings to protect themselves when their agricultural life had more or less unfitted them to cope successfully in battle with their savage foes. (3) A sedentary agricultural and village life necessitated co-operation, a long train of social relations and more systematic organization. Given all these conditions, and the kind of civilization developed by the Pueblos seems only a natural and necessary one.

The historical discussion following is intended to sketch briefly the work of the first Spanish explorers, and show by their own descriptions the stage of civilization in which they found these Indians and how stubbornly they have resisted any innovations. The description of the present social and industrial life given in the second chapter shows that they differ very little even in minor details from that described by the historian of the Coronado expedition three hundred and sixty years ago. It also shows to what extent their religious superstitions enter into every avenue of their lives. The description of the ancient architecture and the archæological remains found about these old ruins is introduced to corroborate the historical evidence of the stationary condition of their civilization.

The discussion of the institutional and religious life exhibits the intricate inter-relations of their social, political and religious systems and the elaborate rites and ceremonies which have grown up among these people. The religious belief of the Pueblos introduces a discussion of the psychology of primitive belief and its effects upon the problem of human progress. The condition of the Pueblos is then shown to be especially favorable to the growth of a powerful priesthood, which reinforces the already static conditions so that any innovation is considered a sacrilege.

In the last chapter the problem of education is considered with the view of showing how the methods employed by the Pueblos are exactly suited to perpetuate a static condition.

The apprentice method is shown to obtain in both their industrial and religious instruction, and to be reinforced by their superstitious beliefs to such an extent that variation is practically impossible.

These conditions are held to be sufficient to account for the arrested development of the Pueblos.

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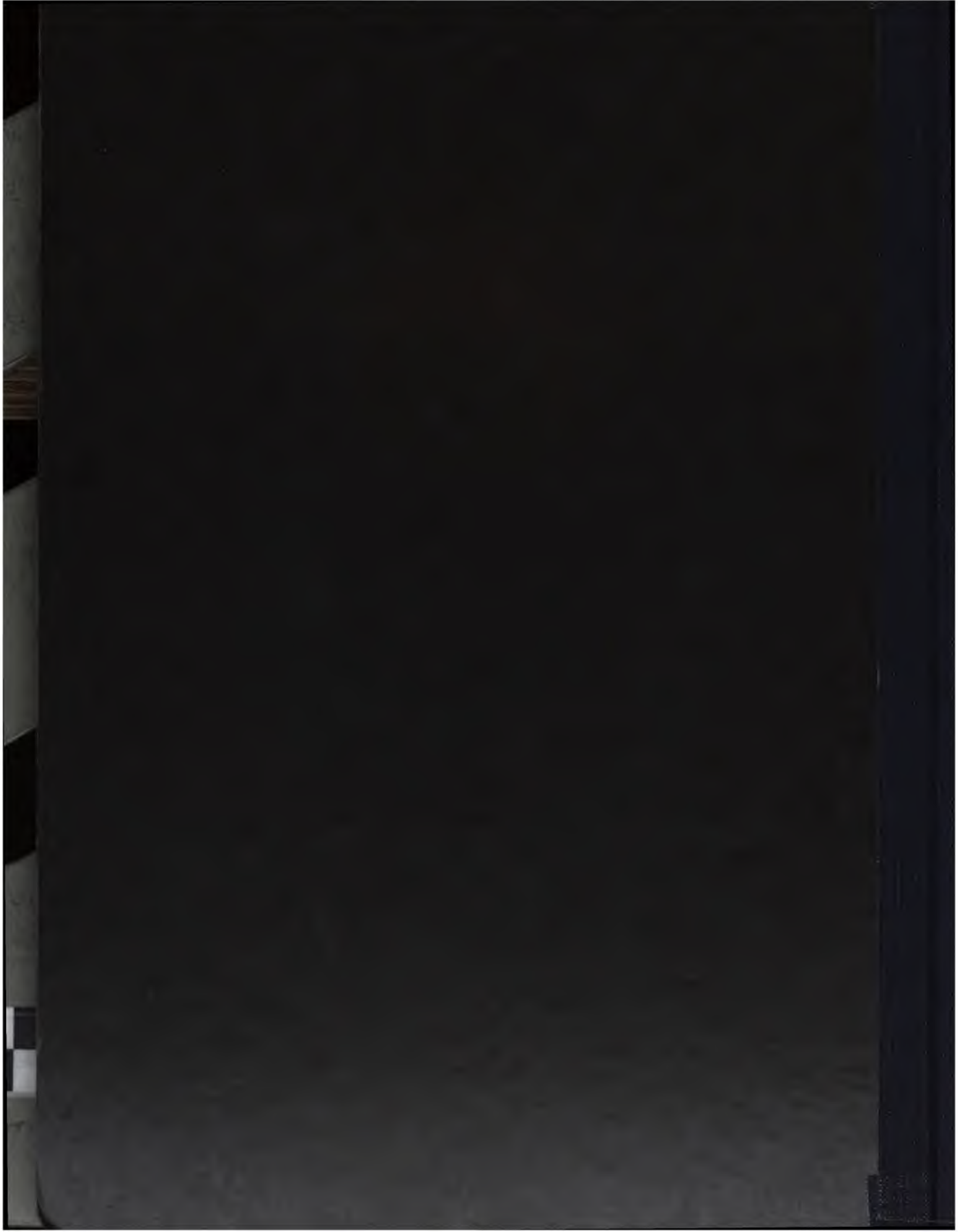
VITA

THE writer of this dissertation is a native of the state of Ohio, where he received his earlier educational training. His preparation for college consisted of a high school course at West Salem, Ohio, supplemented by a brief engineering course at the Ohio Normal University. In 1889 he moved to Colorado, where he entered the State Normal School and completed the course of study in 1891. After teaching one year he entered the State University of Colorado, from which institution he was graduated in 1894 with the degree of B. Sc. During two years of his course at this university he was an instructor in Mathematics and English in the State Preparatory School, and after graduating was elected Superintendent of the Monte Vista, Colo., public schools, which position he held for three years and then resigned to again enter the State University for graduate work in psychology and pedagogy.

After one year's residence at the University of Colorado he entered Columbia University, where he elected education as a major and minor, and anthropology as one minor. He has attended lectures on education by Professors Butler, Russell and McMurry, and on anthropology and physiological psychology by Dr. Farrand.